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INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGY AND INTER-PERSONAL IDEOLOGY

THE CASE OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
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INTERPERSONAL IDEOLOGY: THE CASE OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS
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ABSTRACT

The study was directed toward an understanding of Pakistani students' attitudes toward international relations. For this purpose William A. Scott's study, "International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology" was replicated, but the analysis of the results was not solely confined to Scott's pattern. The following conclusions were drawn:

- 1) No significant correspondence existed between Pakistani respondents' views of ideal relations among nations, as envisaged through foreign policy goals, and their values concerning inter-personal relations. But some kind of a general attitudinal orientation was detected correspondingly at international and inter-personal levels;
- 2) Inter-personal values were generally empirically confused, but the international goals were fairly distinctly perceived: peculiar national circumstances appeared to have partly conditioned the response patterns with regard to the latter;
- 3) Highly disfavored inter-personal value items either involved religious teachings or prominent social taboos, or some other extra-sensitive social-norm issues;
- 4) The findings of this study differed basically from those of Scott's; these differences were traced partly to some inherent weaknesses in Scott's scales and differences in

socio-cultural background of the respondents for the two studies.

The study was considered relevant from the international behavior point of view in a number of ways, and led to some useful suggestions for further research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The present study represents an exploration with regard to Pakistani students' attitudes toward international relations. For this purpose William Scott's study, "International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology"¹ was replicated on a group of Pakistani students at the time registered in various Canadian universities, and residing in Canada.² The specific aim with regard to this replication was to discover:

- 1) the nature of inter-personal value orientations of the Pakistani students, and whether these have any correspondence with the respective value orientations of the American respondents of Scott's study;
- 2) whether the specific inter-personal value orientations of the Pakistani respondents as discovered through their response structures generalize into, or serve as frames of reference for, evaluating international goals, following Scott's hypothesis;³

¹William A. Scott, "International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology", Public Opinion Quarterly, 1960, 24, pp. 419-435.

²Time-period here refers to early spring of 1969.

³A restatement of Scott's hypotheses in this regard will follow later in the chapter.

3) in the event of not finding such a correspondence or a process of generalization between inter-personal values and international goals for Pakistani students, to see if their reactions to international goals reveal any patterns, more validly reflective of international ideology than those postulated by Scott.

It was hypothesized that the cross-national differences and varying semantic orientations might lead the study into the discovery of a value system cherished by Pakistani students, not exactly corresponding with that of their American counterparts, but again making itself manifest in their reactions to international goals, if Scott's hypothesis holds.⁴ If not, it would still be interesting to make observations with regard to Pakistani students' value patterns and the patterns of their reactions to international goals in their own capacity.

Before proceeding to a restatement of Scott's hypotheses posited in relation to his particular study, and an account of the procedure and method followed for the present investigation, it would be appropriate to place the latter in the context of relevant international attitudinal

⁴The hypothesis that international ideologies are partly derived from inter-personal ideologies. Scott, op. cit., pp. 420-421.

explorations, and the broader perspective of international relations as a discipline.

Attitudinal studies within the field of international relations have been gaining ground for the past two or three decades. An increasing interest in the understanding of the "human dimension" in the interaction of nations, both as it relates to problems of war and peace, and other international phenomena, has resulted in a growing number of investigations with regard to "individual international behavior". It has been argued that studies of:

. . . the ways in which individuals relate themselves to their own nations, to the international system as a whole, to foreign policy issues, and to the broader questions of war and peace; and the actual interaction between individuals of different nationalities [not only] have face relevance for anyone who is interested in exploring the direct and indirect interactions of individuals with national and international objects [but also] there are certain specific aspects of foreign policy to which the study of individual attitudes and cross-national interactions does have direct relevance.⁵

These studies have varied in accordance with their direction, foci of attention, and methodological orientations. Many of the early attempts, especially those undertaken during the period between and immediately after the

⁵Herbert C. Kelman (ed.), International Behavior, a social psychological analysis, published for the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 566.

two world wars, appear to be dominated by the problems of war and a quest for peace: some were actually UNESCO sponsored.⁶ Only during the last decade and a half has there been a tendency to concentrate on more basic issues regarding individual behavior as it relates to international affairs.⁷ "Studies of Attitudes toward International Affairs" have formed a part of this area of research in the broader perspective. But even within this scope investigations have taken various directions. To quote Kelman, there have been:

⁶For instance, D.D. Droba, "Effects of Various Factors on Militarism-Pacifism", Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 1931, 26, pp. 141-143; R. Stagner, "Some Factors Related to Attitudes toward War", Journal of Social Psychology, 1942, 16, pp. 131-142; R. Stagner, J.F. Brown, R.H. Gundlach, and R.K. White, "A Survey of Public Opinion on the Prevention of War", Journal of Social Psychology, 1942, 16, pp. 109-130; A. Campbell, "Factors Associated with Attitudes toward Jews", in T.M. Newcomb and E.L. Harley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1947), pp. 518-527; M. Smith, "War Attitudes in Peace and War", School and Society, 1942, 56, pp. 640-644; H. Cantril (ed.), Tensions that Cause Wars (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950); W. Buchanan, and H. Cantril, How Nations See Each Other: A Study in Public Opinion (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953); Otto Klineberg, Tensions Affecting International Affairs (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950); Otto Klineberg, The Human Dimension of International Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); W.E. Lambert, and O. Klineberg, "A Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes", International Social Science Journal, 1959, 11, pp. 221-228.

⁷A detailed account of the development and main trends of these studies can be seen in Kelman, op. cit., pp. 5-17.

national samples . . . in which questions on a whole range of foreign policy issues are asked, [or studies] assessing attitudes in response to a specific international situation, . . . [or] in relation to a specific policy issue, [or] general attitudes toward foreign affairs . . . with particular emphasis on individual readiness to adopt a belligerent stand in international relations . . . [which can be related to] the social characteristics [or] personality dispositions of the respondents, [or] to their reactions to communications about international events.⁸

Sometimes the study of "personality and attitude dynamics that operate at the level of individual citizen and officials" as they relate to various foreign policy issues are emphasized as important "domestic variables" for the

⁸Ibid., p. 11. For examples of the above mentioned "types" of researches, also quoted by Kelman, see J. Paul, and J. Laulicht, In Your Opinion: Leaders' and Voters' Attitudes on Defense and Disarmament, Vol. I (Oakville, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute, 1963); M. Chesler, and R. Schmuck, "Student Reactions to the Cuban Crisis and Public Dissent", Public Opinion Quarterly, 1964, 28, pp. 467-482; P. Eckman et al, "Divergent Reactions to the Threat of War: Shelter and Peace Groups during the Berlin Crisis", Council for Correspondence Newsletter, March, 1963, 24, pp. 11-25; P.I. Rose, "Citizens' Opinions on Civil Defense", Council for Correspondence Newsletter, March, 1963, 24, pp. 25-27; P.I. Rose, and J. Laulicht (eds.), "The Threat of War: Policy and Public Opinion", Social Problems, 1963, 11 (1); S. Putney, and R. Middleton, "Some Factors Associated with Student Acceptance or Rejection of War", American Sociological Review, XXVII, 1962, pp. 655-667; D.J. Levinson, "Authoritarian Personality and Foreign Policy", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1957, 1, pp. 37-47; B. Christiansen, Attitudes toward Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality (Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1959); A.I. Gladstone, and M.A. Taylor, "Threat Related Attitudes and Reactions to Communications about International Events", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1958, 2, pp. 17-28.

understanding of foreign policy processes.⁹

William Scott refers to the so-called personality approach "as one of the most intriguing avenues of explanation for a variety of international attitudes".¹⁰ He cites Levinson as arguing "that nationalist ideology may find its roots in a basic personality orientation of authoritarianism", and Gladstone as showing "that a belligerent orientation toward nations is associated with inter-personal belligerence, and correspondingly, pacifism at the international level tends to go with nonviolent attitudes toward people", also referring to "Smith, Bruner, and White's exploration of attitudes toward the Soviet Union [proceeding] from the assumption that international attitudes reflect more basic personality dispositions", as examples.¹¹ Scott's own study, "International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology", replicated here, is centred on a "hypothesis about the relationship between certain personal values and ideals for international relations".¹²

⁹J.S. Rosenau (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 5.

¹⁰Scott, op. cit., p. 419.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 419-420.

¹²Ibid., p. 419 (Introduction).

To add some further examples of similar explorations, Christiansen undertook to find roots of "Attitudes toward Foreign Affairs" in various dominant theories of personality current in his time;¹³ Perry emphasised the "Role of the National" by suggesting that "one might profitably study international relations by conceptualizing the focal unit of study as the role of the national -- that is the role played by a person when interacting with others who are not citizens of his own nation";¹⁴ Morris Rosenberg tried to establish relationship between an individual's "faith in people" and his outlook on international relations;¹⁵ while Smith and Rosen collected evidence for negative correlation between the F Scale and "worldmindedness",¹⁶ and Faris showed high correlation between authoritarianism and jingoism.¹⁷ Among more recent attempts can be mentioned Angell,

¹³Christiansen, op. cit.

¹⁴Stewart E. Perry, "Notes on the Role of a National: A Social Psychological Concept for the Study of International Relations", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1957, 1, pp. 346-363.

¹⁵Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Attitudes Toward International Affairs", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1957, 1, pp. 340-345.

¹⁶H.P. Smith and E.W. Rosen, "Some Psychological Correlates of Worldmindedness and Authoritarianism", Journal of Personality, 1958, 26, pp. 170-183.

¹⁷C.D. Faris, "Selected Attitudes on Foreign Affairs as Correlates of Authoritarianism and Political Anomie", Journal of Politics, 1960, 22, pp. 50-67.

Dunham, and Singer's "Social Values and Foreign Policy Attitudes of Soviet and American Elites" -- a study "undertaken in the hope that greater knowledge of the values held by the principle elites on both sides of the cold war would contribute to our understanding of the present situation and to our appreciation of future possibilities";¹⁸ and Philip Worchel's "Social Ideology and Reactions to International Events" stemming "from an assumption that reactions to international events are derivatives of inter-personal orientations which, in turn, are determined in part by one's ideology concerning the nature of his fellow-man".¹⁹ The latter seems to come quite close to the general underlying assumption of the present study, viz interpersonal orientations making themselves manifest in reactions to international phenomena. However, the emphasis in Worchel's study in terms of inter-personal orientations is on an individual's beliefs "in which others are conceptualized as (1) either good or bad, (2) 'weak' or 'strong', (3) 'object' or 'human' [leading in turn] to certain implications regarding the kind of formal and informal controls -- political,

¹⁸R.C. Angell, V.S. Dunham, and J.D. Singer, "Social Values and Foreign Policy Attitudes of Soviet and American Elites", Journal of Conflict Resolution, December, 1964, VIII, 4, pp. 330-491.

¹⁹Philip Worchel, "Social Ideology and Reactions to International Events", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1967, XI, 4, pp. 414-430.

economic, and social -- that a group must establish if it is to maintain itself as a viable organization".²⁰ This theory of "social ideology" is then inculcated in his major hypothesis with regard to inter-personal and international behavior so that "the more positive the conception of man as basically good, strong, and humanistic, the greater the tendency to advocate negotiations in international conflicts, to accept international controls and to recommend economic aid to other nations [leading to prediction] that the more positive the orientation, the less the ethnocentrism and authoritarianism".²¹ On the other hand, in the present study, following Scott's model, a set of inter-personal values has been hypothesised as finding manifestation in the choice of corresponding international goals. Thus, while the main concern of the former is with the conception of human nature seen in relation with ethnocentric and authoritarian attitudes at the international level, the latter concentrates on values and goals relationship at the two levels.

A number of other related studies have been included in the Bibliography given at the end of the present study. The main purpose of these citations, however, has

²⁰Ibid., p. 414.

²¹Ibid., p. 415.

been to provide a glimpse of the directions which studies of international attitudes have taken in general. The question which still remains to be answered is the exact relationship of these explorations with the study of international relations. Kelman was quoted earlier proclaiming relevance of the former with regard to the latter. Both Kelman and Singer have dwelt considerably on these themes in their respective works.²² Avoiding too much repetition, an attempt will be made here to restate briefly the broad orientations of international behavioral studies in the perspective of an overall picture of the discipline in view of its scope, goals, and other related problems which have dominated the field during the past few decades.

Students of international relations are well aware of the revolutionary transformations which this discipline has undergone during the short span of its existence in terms of its very scope, definition of boundaries, and methodological orientations. The process has not yet come to an end, although substantive investigations have taken

²²Kelman, op. cit., pp. 3-39 and 565-607; and J.D. Singer, Human Behavior and International Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 1-20, and Quantitative International Politics (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 1-13. While Kelman provides a detailed account of origin and development of social-psychological approaches to the study of international relations, both he and Singer discuss at length the relevance of these studies to the understanding of international phenomena.

the place of much of the "theory of theories"²³ in recent years. It can be remembered that not long ago the study of international relations was almost completely devoid of any attempts at theory-building or even of any expression of concern for lack of it. As Kenneth Thompson has retraced the development, first monopolized by diplomatic historians, who confined themselves to descriptive and chronological accounts, and later emphasis having been laid on "current events", and "immediate present", the inter-war period was mainly characterized by a "legal and institutional approach".²⁴ Thus it was not until after the Second World War that a necessity for basic research and theorization on the pattern of hard sciences -- or at least more scientifically oriented social sciences -- was seriously felt. The goal-oriented nature of the discipline was also an important factor in claiming the serious attention of scholars, not only of international relations and political science, but also of other related disciplines. If the phenomenon of human wars had to be understood and brought under control,

²³As Knorr and Verba phrase the problem in K. Knorr and S. Verba (eds.), The International System (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 2.

²⁴Kenneth Thompson, "The Origins, Uses and Problems of Theory in International Relations", The Role of Theory in International Relations, ed. by Horrace V. Harrison (New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 47-73.

a systematic understanding of the relations among the existing (and often warring) political units, namely nations, had to be undertaken.²⁵

The study of international relations has come a long way from that point during the past two and a half decades. From the basic questions like "why" and "how" to undertake scientific theorization and research in the field, to problems of level and units of analyses, its various aspects have been given extensive examination; and although the questions remain far from being ultimately answered, and difficulties like how to bring a variety of approaches together, which in Hoffmann's oft-quoted words remain like "planes flying at different altitudes and in different directions",²⁶ the situation has changed to a great extent.

One of the recent trends in the field has been the growing interest of scholars in undertaking and utilizing studies of individual behavior and attitudes in explaining phenomena of state interaction. As in the ultimate analysis, "foreign policies" of nations and overt state actions can be traced back to the decisions made by one or a few

²⁵As also emphasised by Thompson, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁶Stanley Hoffmann (ed.), Contemporary Theory in International Relations (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 10.

"decision-makers", who in turn are influenced and actually governed by a number of individual personality factors and other social psychological forces acting upon them, it has become questionable to continue to stick to "state" as the most significant unit of analysis for the understanding of international politics.²⁷ This notion has got further strength from the fast-changing picture of the world in the fading cold war era, which is faced with problems like on the one hand striking scientific advancements, and on the other continued underdevelopment of nations comprising more than two-thirds of the world's population. Threat of major wars and the cold-war strategies have given place to a different set of problems, in which the older theories, based on notions like collective security and deterrence, have seemed to be losing relevance.²⁸ Instead, emphasis on the role of the individual as a significant member of the international community -- understanding of his cognitive and affective processes as they operate in terms of cognition and perception of the international phenomena, and his attitudes and behavior with regard to the same, have been

²⁷For the decision-making approach to the study of international politics, R.C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, Foreign Policy Decision-Making (New York: Free Press, 1962).

²⁸J.W. Burton, International Relations, A General Theory (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1965).

given considerable attention.

A few observations must be made at this point. First, most of this so-called behavioral research in international relations has come from studies in fields like sociology and psychology, although as Kelman has suggested, "the use of social psychological concepts and methods is by no means restricted to psychologists and sociologists".²⁹ Secondly, works based on social-psychological approaches are still scarce, and rarely "accorded sustained or systematic scrutiny".³⁰ To quote McClosky,

To most students of foreign affairs such factors remain novel, uncongenial, and difficult to incorporate into the analytical framework with which they are accustomed to work. Hard data on the influence of psychological variables in foreign policy are, so far, not abundant, and the obstacles to be surmounted in collecting such data are often formidable.³¹

Thirdly, there is the further question of what exactly should be the weight given to these investigations in the field. Again, in the words of McClosky:

²⁹Kelman, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁰Herbert McClosky, "Personality and Attitude Correlates of Foreign Policy Orientations", in James Rosenau, (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 51.

³¹Ibid., p. 52.

. . . The utility of psychological explanations can not be decided by a priori judgments or even by appraising the rudimentary research so far completed. Whether analytical perspectives employing personality and attitude influences prove feasible and helpful in the study of international politics is an empirical question to be settled only after much more research -- presumably of an increasingly sophisticated and systematic nature -- has been undertaken.³²

And finally, as referred to earlier, and as hinted at by James Rosenau in his introduction to Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy with reference to his particular symposium but which can easily be generalized as being true of most investigations in this field, is the limitation that "for all practical purposes it is culture bound".³³ Although again, taking Rosenau's words with regard to his work, as inspirational viz "a preponderance of the chapters is primarily concerned with the domestic sources of United States foreign policy [although often] mention is made of comparable phenomena in other societies and often the analysis is cast at . . . a high level of generalization",³⁴ it can be said that often conclusions are applicable to non-American situations. The fact, however, remains that potential

³²Ibid.

³³James Rosenau (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 6.

³⁴Ibid.

fields in social, psychological, and attitudinal research in foreign relation problems of nations other than North American and European, remain to be explored.

Reference here must also be made to the close relationship between international relations studies and studies exclusively devoted to problems of prevention of wars and attainment of peace. Interestingly, at the same time as students of international relations were leaving behind international law and organization approaches to seek more basic theorization, some war and peace researchers were also branching out into the exploration of more fundamental questions underlying war and peace problems. Thus insights based on cold war strategies, power-deterrence theories and disarmament problems were giving way to interests in the nature and origin of conflict. In the words of J.W. Burton:

. . . institutions and societies have in recent years been formed for purposes of research in a field that has most usually been called Peace or Conflict Resolution. . . They have protested against orthodox approaches to International Relations which presuppose that little can be done in the way of preventing or diverting conflict even in the long term. While orthodox approaches seem to assume the inevitability of power conflicts unless restrained by some form of deterrence, peace research, on the other hand, makes no such assumptions, and endeavours to examine the source of conflict. . . The difference between the two approaches is the difference between conditions of "non-war" and of "peace".³⁵

²⁵ Burton, op. cit., pp. 87 and 88.

And further:

At no time in the consideration of issues of peace and war has so much attention been given to what Kelman terms "societal" and "attitudinal" aspects, and perhaps the reason is that at no time have these been as important as they are in the twentieth century. . . Attitudinal factors which affect the individual have become more important because of the greater opportunities of the individual and the spread of education. . .³⁶

Burton, however, also argues that

1) International relations as a scientific discipline is not goal-oriented. Thus

world government, democracy, peace, national survival, world domination, are amongst goals that might be sought by states. International Relations can merely suggest that if certain events take place, certain results are likely to follow, that certain policies are likely to produce certain consequences; it can state alternative goals, but their selection is a matter of policy.³⁷

and 2) that peace research is not the answer to all the problems of international relations.

. . . [T]he study of conflict is adding to knowledge in special fields related to International Relations, but is not providing a breakthrough, or any significant new approach. . . Peace and Conflict Research centres are providing useful and stimulating perspectives, they are goading International Relations to

³⁶Ibid., p. 90.

³⁷Ibid., p. 5.

develop improved techniques and more realistic models.³⁸

This position is in considerable contrast with that of Herbert Kelman who has tended to look at "behavioral approach" towards the study of international relations as synonymous with any studies directed towards the attainment of peace. In his preface, while "quoting from the introductory section of the 1960 outline", he restates:

The focus of the volume is defined as research on international behavior, rather than "psychological research relevant to war and peace". . . The volume will not present a deliberate, systematic attempt to explain psychological causes of war or proposals for peace. Rather, it will concentrate on the study of social-psychological processes that occur when nationals and government interact. . . Any research in this area is, of course, potentially relevant to problems of war and peace, but there will be no attempt to demonstrate this at every point.³⁹

Again, later on in his introduction he repeats:

There has been a steady growth of theory and empirical research on problems of international behavior in general, which has included the concerted use of psychological -- and particularly social-psychological -- concepts and methods. Part of this development has involved the attempt to define certain aspects of war and peace as researchable problems, to which the tools of behavioral science can be applied. . . It is impossible to define exact boundaries for this emerging field . . . but it might loosely be called the "social psychology of international relations".⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 94.

³⁹Kelman, op. cit., p. x.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 3.

It is not intended to go into the details of this argument here. It can merely be stated that it is the contention behind the present study that investigations which aim at further understanding of factors collaborating to increase or decrease world tensions and international conflicts automatically further insights into the means for the attainment of peace.

Also converging with peach research and international behavior studies have been UNESCO sponsored works in the quest for peace, as referred to earlier. Thus Otto Klineberg's Tensions Affecting International Understanding and The Human Dimension in International Relations; Hadley Cantril's Tensions that Cause Wars; Buchanan and Cantril's How Nations See Each Other; and Klineberg and Lambert's Children's Views of Foreign Peoples⁴¹ deserve mention as being representative of psychological and attitudinal approaches to international problems. Again, it is not intended here to review in detail the literature of attitudinal studies falling within the interest limits of international relations. The purpose is to point out relevant study areas, and their points of intersection, in order to clarify the scope of the present interest within the boundaries of international relations.

⁴¹As cited earlier.

In the end, a few words can be added with respect to James Rosenau's approach toward attitudinal and behavioral research within his "pre-theories" and "issue-area" framework, again, as also referred to earlier. In his Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy he considers "personality and attitude dynamics that operate at the level of individual citizen and officials"⁴² as important "domestic variables" or sources of foreign policy. It is not saying that "personality and attitude dynamics" are the only, or most important, of these factors, nor, as stated earlier, is it possible to determine the extent to which they are meaningful, but it can safely be concluded that just as personality studies have established their place in the study of political science in general, relevant behavior and attitudinal studies represent an important perspective for the understanding of international phenomena.

Within the context of the behavioral orientations discussed above, and as stated earlier, the present study represents an exploration of Pakistani students' attitudes toward international affairs, centring essentially around Scott's hypothesis that "there may be rather widespread tendencies to personalize nations and believe that they ought to relate to one another in the same way that people

⁴²Rosenau, op. cit., p. 5.

are supposed to",⁴³ and replicating his research in general. By virtue of the fact that the socio-cultural background of the respondents for the present study is that of the Pakistani nation, the present study has gained a cross-cultural dimension, previously pointed out as generally lacking in many international behavior studies. Probably not much will be accomplished with regard to this dimension of the study within the present scope, but some suggestive insights can definitely be of value. An attempt has been made throughout the study to take notes of the same and make comparative observations with regard to findings of the present study as seen in its specific cultural perspective with those of Scott's, as being representative of American students' attitudes.

But before further elaborating on the directions and procedure of the present study, it seems fair to cite Scott's main hypothesis, and the general trends of his study, in order to provide proper perspective for the present undertaking.

Essentially exploratory in nature, Scott's study has been based on the general hypothesis "that people tend to advocate relations among nations which correspond

⁴³Scott, op. cit., p. 420.

structurally with their notions of ideal relations among people".⁴⁴ The reasoning behind this hypothesis, according to him, is:

that international affairs constitute a peripheral concern for most people; hence such attitudes as they can be induced to express in this area will often not be accompanied by well thought out reasons which relate means to advocated ends. Rather, their international ideologies are likely to represent generalizations to a relatively little known domain of ideologies found serviceable in more familiar realms. Thus there may be rather widespread tendencies to personalize nations and believe that they ought to relate to one another in the same way that people are supposed to.⁴⁵

He warns, however, that

the methodology of the present study . . . does not permit one to assess directly the direction of generalization assumed here. It merely enables one to ascertain the degree of correlation between corresponding ideologies; the source of the correlation must be inferred.⁴⁶

Scott's research was conducted on 218 subjects from a "large state university" through a questionnaire consisting of items representing a set of eight conceptually defined inter-personal values, and another set of eight corresponding conceptually defined goals of United States

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 420.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 421.

foreign policy. The set of personal values and their corresponding goals as devised by him are as follows:

<u>Inter-personal Value</u>	<u>International Goal</u>
Self-Control	Pacifism
Intellectualism	Cultural Development
Kindness to People	Humanitarianism
Social Skills	Co-existence
Religiousness	Religiousness
Independence	Independence
Status	Power
Loyalty	Nationalism.

The conceptual definitions for each of these values and goals are given in Appendix A of this study.

According to Scott, in the actual test all international items were included in one instrument, and were presented first to the subjects in a random form. After some interspersed questions on a different topic, randomized inter-personal items were presented. Scott's analysis of the results was mainly correlational.

The Present Study: Procedure and Method

For the purposes of the present study, Scott's value-goal pairs, and conceptual definitions for values and goals, were accepted as given. Considerable adaptations, however, had to be made with regard to items comprising his two scales -- those for inter-personal values and those for foreign policy goals. It was assumed that the inter-personal values represented in Scott's scales were general enough to

convey the same sense to Pakistani respondents as they did to the American students, especially so in view of the Western-educational background of the respondents of the present study. Thus, only for items relating to Religiousness, such terms as "attending church", and "Bible" were replaced by "offering prayers" and "Quran" respectively. All the other items included in the scales were reproduced intact in the questionnaire prepared for the present research.

Items relating to foreign policy goals had to be adapted in such a way that they would suit Pakistan's peculiar position, problems, and aspirations in the field of international relations, and still remain within the scope and dimension of the present study, e.g., maximization of the goal Power for the U.S.A. has been represented in Scott's scales as "Keeping the United States the leader of the world." But such a statement had to be restricted to some extent in order to appear relevant within limits of Pakistan's foreign policy aspirations. Thus, for the present study, it was changed into: "Trying to make Pakistan the leader of Afro-Asian countries."

Similarly, an item representing Humanitarianism as an international goal for United States foreign policy, in Scott's scale, reads: "Helping underdeveloped countries to advance", but for purposes of the present study, it was

adapted to, "Trying to help nations with worse social and economic conditions." In this way, items comprising the whole set of scales for international goals in Scott's study were adapted. In the case of the international goal of Religiousness, some extra items were added in order to detect more precisely Pakistani respondents' attitudes toward the same, in view of Pakistan's being a proclaimed "Islamic State", reflecting the dominant role of religion in the intra-national and international political orientations of the country. It was suspected that the present respondents, by living in a comparatively secular environment, and in view of their educational background, might show tendencies removed from the general national orientations.⁴⁷

A minor alteration was introduced in the response columns of the questionnaire, so that for the middle column, response choice "Depends" was replaced by "Don't Know" and moved to the right-hand column, with a view to restrict the number of middle-ground responses.

The various borrowed and adapted items, comprising scales for inter-personal values and scales for Pakistan's foreign policy goals -- forty in each case -- were then

⁴⁷A reproduction of both the scales of Scott's study, and as they were adapted and represented in the questionnaire for the present study, is given in Appendices B and C of this study.

administered in the form of a questionnaire to Pakistani students.⁴⁸ The questionnaire, on the whole, represented some other scales besides those adapted from Scott for the present study, so that randomized items relating to international goals scales for the present study formed the first part of the questionnaire. Its second and third parts contained scales not relevant to the present study, while the fourth (and last) part represented randomized items relating to inter-personal values for the present study. The whole questionnaire was preceded by a directional note, and some questions regarding background information about the respondents. Table I summarizes the background information obtained for the sample of this study.

Responses for the items were scored as follows: "1" for each "should be a goal" or "always admire" response; "2" for each "don't know" response; and "3" for each "should not be a goal" or "always dislike" response. Throughout the study reference is continuously made to Scott's work whenever necessary, for comparative or other purposes.

The Sample

The sample of respondents for the present study

⁴⁸One item from the inter-personal value scales had to be dropped later for having elicited uniform responses from the sample, hence causing disturbance in statistical analyses of the results. The final scales, then, had 79 items in total.

consisted of 52 Pakistani respondents, at the time living mostly in Western Canada.⁴⁹ Some necessary background information about the sample which has been presented in Table I can be summarily restated here with explanatory notes where needed. The sample was comprised of 41 students and 11 non-students; the non-students were included in view of the limited size of the sample obtained in the beginning. It can be mentioned here that the number of students in the sample included approximately 75 percent of the total Pakistani student population in Edmonton and Calgary. However, all of the 11 non-students represented respondents under 35 years of age, who had either first come to Canada as students and later stayed on for other jobs, or had been students at one time or another during their stay in Canada. None of them had been in Canada for more than six years at the time of answering the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered individually or in small group situations for respondents residing in Edmonton and Calgary (totalling 42). In the case of the remaining 10 respondents (from Toronto and Kingston, Ontario), questionnaires had to be mailed individually with

⁴⁹In total 53 questionnaires were returned, but one of these had to be dropped from the present sample for having no responses for inter-personal items.

a request to follow the directions carefully.

Again, as can be seen in Table I, most of the respondents were graduate students (31) [undergraduate = 10, non-students = 11]; most of them represented an age group between 25 to 29 years (30); and most of them had resided in Canada for a period of between 1 to 3 years (36). No distinction was made between those on either Canadian or Pakistan government sponsored scholarships, and those holding Departmental assistantships, or studying on their own. Students in the fields of natural sciences or specializing in professions like medicine, engineering or other technical fields, by far outnumbered social scientists, lawyers or students representing other Humanities or Arts subjects (Natural Sciences = 20; Professionals = 15; Social Sciences = 1). Males outnumbered the females (47, 5).

There appears to be a close division with regard to country of origin (Pakistan = 26, India = 25), showing a parity between "native Pakistanis" and those having immigrated from India. Information about the respondents' parents' occupation and profession leads one to believe that they generally represented middle or upper middle social classes of Pakistan. No specific questions were asked regarding family income. Forty-one out of 52 respondents showed a definite intention of going back to Pakistan, 5 were undecided, and 6 did not want to go back.

TABLE I

DATA ON BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESPONDENTS

Origin	Pakistan=26	India=25	Other=1	
Sex	Male=47	Female=5		
Age	18-20=1	20-24=10	25-29=30	30-35=11
Residence in Canada (No. of years)	Less than 1 year =11	1-3 years =36	More than 3 years =5	
Residential Status in Canada	Students =29	Landed Immigrants =22	Citizens =1	
Travel Abroad before Coming to Canada	Less than 1 year =13	1-3 years =5	More than 3 years =4	Never=30
Present Occupation	Graduate Students=31	Under-graduates=10	Not Students=11	
Field of Study	Natural Sciences=21	Social Sciences=1	Professionals =15	Not Specified=4
Father's Occupation	Independent-Professional =27	Government Service=22	Business-Farming =2	Not Specified =1
Mother's Occupation	Housewife =49	Working =2	Not Specified=1	
Father's Education	Completed University =27	Did Not Complete University=6	Completed High School=15	Did Not Complete High School=3
Mother's Education	Completed University =2	Did Not Complete University=1	Completed High School=11	Did Not Complete High School=27
Intention of Going Back	Yes=41	No=6	Indefinite =5	

This background information was not included in the analyses of the results in any specific way. It has been presented here for the sake of giving a general idea about the nature of the sample.

Actual results of the investigation and their discussion will proceed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

REPLICATION AND RESULTS

In this Chapter the results and discussion about the replication of Scott's study of "International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology" as conducted on Pakistani students in Canada will be presented. First, results in the form of analyses of tables corresponding to those of Scott's will be given and compared with the same. A discussion will follow with suggestions for some further analyses of the findings of the present replication, and observation of some aspects of the study not exactly following Scott's model, but arising out of it.

Table II represents homogeneities of the scales used with Pakistani students. Scott's recommendation was followed in this regard, viz, that "average inter-item correlation . . . is a preferable index because it is independent of test length and is not artificially inflated by dispersed item difficulty".¹ Accordingly, average inter-item correlations were found for each set of values and goals in the two scales, and are given in Table II. Although with regard to this table there is no item-by-item matching of figures with those of Scott's study, except in the case of the international goal of Religiousness, close proximity exists,

¹Scott, op. cit., p. 426.

TABLE II

HOMOGENEITIES OF SCALES FOR PAKISTANI STUDENTS

<u>Item</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>	<u>Mean of Inter-item rs</u>
Personal Values		
1. Self Control	5	.12
2. Intellectualism	5	.18
3. Kindness to People	4	.16
4. Social Skills	5	.25
5. Religiousness	5	.40
6. Independence	5	.30
7. Status	4	.11
8. Loyalty	6	.10
	$\Sigma = 39$	total mean = .20
Goals of Pakistan's Foreign Policy		
1. Pacifism	4	.11
2. Cultural Development	4	.13
3. Humanitarianism	6	.11
4. Co-existence	4	.14
5. Religiousness	8	.42
6. Independence	4	.19
7. Power	5	.29
8. Nationalism	5	.23
	$\Sigma = 40$	total mean = .20

and the total average of the two compares quite well [.24/.20; .23/.20]. The figures, then, should be considered of satisfactory size, suggesting reliable measurement operations.

Table III contains intercorrelations among the advocated foreign policy goals of the Pakistani students. Scott's aim in looking at this aspect of the results of his study was to discover any "kinds of international ideology into which the various foreign policy goals are woven".² Two major clusters were discovered by him in his correlation matrix (as reproduced in Table IV for comparative purposes), in which the goals were arranged in order to maximize correlations along the diagonal. From the nature of those clusterings Scott concluded that "goals of foreign policy advocated by the present sample of students stem, in part, from one of two distinct orientations towards the international environment . . . co-operativeness and competitiveness".³ No such clearly distinct clusters are evident for Pakistani students, although some groupings can be noted. Thus Pacifism, Cultural Development, Humanitarianism, and Co-existence have high correlations with each other following Scott's pattern; but Humanitarianism and Co-existence

²Ibid., p. 427.

³Ibid., p. 428.

TABLE III

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE ADVOCATED GOALS FOR PAKISTAN'S
FOREIGN POLICY

<u>International Goals</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pacifism								
2. Cultural Development	.26							
3. Humanitarianism	.34	.22						
4. Co-existence	.32	.14	.50					
5. Religion	.05	-.07	.32	.20				
6. Independence	.27	.10	.37	.26	.42			
7. Power	.02	.04	.33	.32	.56	.34		
8. Nationalism	.04	-.11	.19	.28	.11	.13	.18	

TABLE IV

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG ADVOCATED GOALS OF UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY AS SHOWN IN SCOTT'S STUDY - P. 428

<u>International Goals</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Pacifism	(42) [†]							
2. Cultural Development	25	(46)						
3. Humanitarianism	31	38	(63)					
4. Coexistence	29	23	31	(57)				
5. Religiousness	13	01	16	16	(81)			
6. Independence	·-07	·-04	·-05	·-03	·08	(54)		
7. Power	·-19	·-03	·01	·05	·20	14	(59)	
8. Nationalism	·-22	·-18	·-16	·-07	·11	20	47	(50)

n=218, an r with absolute value of .14 or greater exceeds the .05 level of significance.

[†]Figures in parentheses along the diagonal represent estimated scale reliabilities, from Kuder-Richardson Formula 20.

Note: The two distinct triangular clusters are set off with solid lines. The rectangle outlined by dashed lines encloses the correlations between clusters.

in these results also have significant correlations with Religiousness, Independence, Power and Nationalism (unlike those in Scott's) which in turn are significantly correlated among themselves (like in Scott's results, except for Religiousness). Thus the only low or negative correlations exist between the goals of Religiousness, Independence, Power, and Nationalism in relation to Pacifism and Cultural Development. These are set off by dotted lines in the table. Also, unlike in Scott's study, Religiousness cannot be excluded from any cluster in this study on the basis of "only a small relationship", as this is not the case in the present results. Thus, as far as this study is concerned, it can not be inferred "that these subjects were not reacting to the various goals of foreign policy in isolation from one another but instead tended to treat them as inter-related." However, further discussion about this point will be taken up later.

Relations between Foreign Policy Goals and Personal Values

A glance at Table V shows that positive, significantly different from zero, correlations exist between the corresponding personal values and advocated international goals in this study also, like those in Scott's. In the case of some values and goals, the figures in the two studies show close proximity, e.g., for Kindness-Humanitarianism, Social Skills-Co-existence, and Independence-

TABLE V

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CORRESPONDING PERSONAL VALUES AND ADVOCATED INTERNATIONAL GOALS

<u>Value-Goals</u>	<u>Pakistani Students</u>	<u>Scott's Study</u>
1. Self-Control - Pacifism	.43	.24
2. Intellectualism - Cultural Development	.27	.32
3. Kindness - Humanitarianism	.26	.24
4. Social Skills - Co-existence	.22	.24
5. Religiousness - Religiousness	.59	.68
6. Independence - Independence	.09	.09
7. Status - Power	.43	.17
8. Loyalty - Nationalism	.17	.23
Mean	.37	.28

Independence. The last of these is, coincidentally, exactly the same. The mean of the total in the present study (.37) is a little higher than the mean in Scott's study (.28), but only to confirm Scott's suggestion that in spite of generally small correlations, "the kinds of international relations that these subjects advocated bore some correspondence to the kinds of interpersonal relations that they advocated".⁴

Scott, however, warned in his study against placing confidence in this conclusion on the basis of "the general tendency for intercorrelations between the personal value scales and the international goal scales to be positive, regardless of whether they are paired or not";⁵ and suggests that "to determine appropriately whether the predicted correlations are significantly larger than 'chance', one should probably compare them, not to an assumed baseline of .00, but to the average correlation with non-corresponding scales in which each of the paired value-goals is involved".⁶ Table VI in this study shows the inter-correlations of corresponding and non-corresponding Personal Values and advocated goals of foreign policy of

⁴Ibid., p. 429.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

TABLE VI

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CORRESPONDING AND NON-CORRESPONDING
PERSONAL VALUES AND ADVOCATED GOALS FOR PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN
POLICY

		Personal Values							
		Self-Control	Intellectualism	Kindness	Social Skills	Religiousness	Independence	Status	Loyalty
Foreign Policy Goals									
1. Pacifism		.43	.32	.05	.28	.09	-.42	.22	.48
2. Cultural Development		.30	.27	.21	.03	-.11	-.04	.05	.41
3. Humanitarianism		.57	.56	.26	.63	.34	.008	.31	.65
4. Co-existence		.44	.78	.20	.22	.22	.04	.44	.45
5. Religiousness		.62	.29	.54	.67	.59	.16	.38	.49
6. Independence		.50	.34	.27	.37	.35	.09	.67	.53
7. Power		.51	.63	.35	.24	.49	.05	.43	.41
8. Nationalism		.19	.24	.39	.14	.64	.22	.28	.17

Pakistan, while Table VII is based upon Scott's suggestion of comparing mean of correlations of corresponding pairs with those of non-corresponding value-goals. Thus, in Table VII, the first column shows the correlations between each personal value and its corresponding international goal; the second column gives the mean of the fourteen other correlations in which either the value or the goal is involved; and the third column shows the number of correlations between non-corresponding pairs (out of fourteen) which have a lower figure than the predicted correlations.

The results of this study as shown in Table VII are in considerable contrast with those of Scott's study and therefore imply that the kinds of international goals which the respondents of this study advocated bore no, or very little, significant correspondence to the kinds of inter-personal relations that they admired. This is apparent from the fact that for five out of eight value-goal pairs the mean of "non-corresponding r's" is greater than the "corresponding r's". Following Scott's reasoning, it has to be accepted that the existing positive correlations between the corresponding value-goal pairs, in spite of being in the predicted direction, are not significantly higher than other goal-value correlations, other than by chance. Also, in all five cases, the number of values and goals whose correlation figures are exceeded by those of

TABLE VII

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CORRESPONDING PAIRS OF VALUE-GOALS VERSUS CORRELATIONS BETWEEN
NON-CORRESPONDING PAIRS

	<u>Value-Goal</u>	<u>Corresponding r</u>	<u>Mean of Non- Corresponding r's</u>	<u>No. of Non-Correspond- ing r's Exceeded by Corresponding r</u>
1. Self-Control - Pacifism		.43	.29	8
2. Intellectualism - Cultural Development		.27	.28	6
3. Kindness - Humanitarianism		.26	.36	4
4. Social Skills - Co-existence		.22	.35	4
5. Religiousness - Religiousness		.59	.36	11
6. Independence - Independence		.09	.21	4
7. Status - Power		.43	.35	9
8. Loyalty - Nationalism		.17	.39	1
Mean		.30	.32	5.8

the corresponding pairs (as seen in Table VII) are significantly small. The three pairs for which the results do indicate significant correspondence are: Self-Control - Pacifism, Religiousness - Religiousness, and Status - Power. For each of these the corresponding r 's exceed the mean of non-corresponding r 's, and the number of non-corresponding r 's, exceeded by the corresponding r 's, is also considerably high. It can therefore be said that for these items significant correspondence between the advocated international goals and corresponding personal values does exist.

With regard to the results shown in Table VI of this study, there are no distinct clusterings of results like those found in Scott's study. In fact considerably high correlations can be noticed with regard to most values and goals. Only the personal value of Independence has remarkably low or negative correlations with all the international goals; Pacifism indicates low relationships with Kindness, Social Skills, Religion and Independence; and Cultural Development has similar low or negative correlations with Social Skills, Religion, Independence and Status. Occasional low correlations are also visible at other places. On the whole, there is considerable variability in magnitudes of the nonpredicted correlations.

Intercorrelations Among Inter-personal Values

Scott suggests, in connection with his results,

TABLE VIII

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG INTER-PERSONAL VALUES

<u>Personal Values</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Self-Control								
2. Intellectualism	.54							
3. Kindness	.43	.35						
4. Social Skills	.42	.28	.12					
5. Religion	.49	.16	.22	.05				
6. Independence	-.01	.002	-.13	-.10	-.004			
7. Status	.40	.23	.45	.06	.36	-.12		
8. Loyalty	.70	.22	.31	.25	.52	-.18	.45	

that the existence of two distinct patterns in the matrix of international goals might lead to a suspicion that corresponding parallels might be reflected in the intercorrelations of inter-personal values. However, this is not the case in Scott's study. It is also not the case in the present study, i.e., no such particular clusters appear in the intercorrelations of interpersonal values (as shown in Table VIII); but at the same time it can be recalled that no clusters corresponding to those of Scott's study had even been shown in the intercorrelations of international goals in this study. In Table VIII the remarkable thing is the low negative correlation of Independence with every other value-category. The remaining values all have positive, quite significantly different from zero, intercorrelations.

Distinctiveness of International Goals and Inter-personal Values

The problem of distinctiveness has already posed challenges as far as the present study is concerned. It was discovered earlier from the results in Table VII that the responses to the majority of the hypothetically corresponding value-goal pairs are not significantly differentiated from the rest of the values and goals or pairs of values and goals. The same thing is again apparent in the following table (Table IX) which, following Scott's scheme, shows "the degree to which correlations among scales referring to a given class of actor (i.e., nations or

TABLE IX

DISTINCTIVENESS OF PERSONAL VALUES FROM INTERNATIONAL GOALS AND DISTINCTIVENESS OF INTERNATIONAL GOALS FROM PERSONAL VALUES

Personal Values			
<u>Values</u>	<u>Mean r with Other Personal Values</u>	<u>Mean r with Non-corresponding Interntal. Goals</u>	<u>No. of Pairs in Which Value-Value r > Value-Goal r</u>
1. Self-Control	.42	.43	2
2. Intellectualism	.25	.45	1
3. Kindness	.28	.28	3
4. Social Skills	.18	.37	3
5. Religiousness	.26	.32	2
6. Independence	.08	.13	3
7. Status	.29	.33	4
8. Loyalty	.37	.49	3
Mean	.26	.35	2.6
International Goals			
<u>Goals</u>	<u>Mean r with Other International Goals</u>	<u>Mean r with Non-corresponding Personal Values</u>	<u>No. of Pairs in Which Goal-Goal r > Goal-Value r</u>
1. Pacifism	.18	.26	2
2. Cultural Development	.13	.16	3
3. Humanitarianism	.32	.43	2
4. Co-existence	.29	.37	2
5. Religiousness	.24	.43	2
6. Independence	.27	.43	2
7. Power	.25	.37	3
8. Nationalism	.15	.30	1
Mean	.22	.34	2.1

people) exceed the corresponding correlations relating goals for nations to goals for people".⁷ A comparison of Columns I and II in this table shows that for each personal value the mean absolute correlation with other values is exceeded by the mean absolute correlation of that value with the non-corresponding foreign policy goals. Similarly in Column III, for each single case, the number of pairs in which Value-Value r is greater than Value-Goal r is fairly low. Following Scott's reasoning, this strongly suggests that personal values are generally confused empirically with the international goals to which they correspond.

The same pattern follows with regard to international goals, in which case, again, for each international goal, the mean absolute correlation with other goals is exceeded by the mean absolute correlation of that goal with the non-corresponding inter-personal values. Also none of the goals emerges as an international goal empirically distinct from a personal value (Column III). Even in Scott's study, the distinctiveness of international goals from personal values is not very clear. In his own words, "On the average, the advocated goals of United States foreign policy scarcely correlate higher . . . with each other than they do

⁷Ibid., p. 431.

with the personal values".⁸ However, he interprets this as:

their concepts of international relationships are highly contaminated with their concepts of interpersonal relationships. Their interpretations of interpersonal relations, on the other hand, are much less contaminated by their views of the international domain, for most of the personal value scales tend to be empirically distinguishable from the foreign policy goals.⁹

He uses this interpretation to support the general assumption underlying his study -- "that the correlation between advocated relations among nations and advocated relations among people stems primarily from a confusion of the former domain with the latter, rather than vice versa."¹⁰ At the same time, he admits that "it hardly constitutes a convincing demonstration of that assumption . . . for we have merely compared magnitudes of correlations among the two sets of scales and inferred a source of consistent discrepancies".¹¹

In the present study, however, it has been obvious that in spite of the fact that positive correlations between corresponding value-goal pairs have resulted in the

⁸Ibid., p. 432.

⁹Ibid., pp. 433-434.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 434.

¹¹Ibid.

predicted direction, there has been no distinct significant correspondence between particular value-goal relationships. Hence, for purposes of further clarifying the issue, factor analysis of the data was undertaken. The results which were obtained with possible interpretations will be presented later in this study. At present, a brief discussion of the preceding results of this study seems appropriate.

Discussion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the results of the present study, as given above:

- 1) Replicating Scott's analysis, the reactions of the Pakistani students to Pakistan's foreign policy goals seem to correspond somewhat to their values concerning inter-personal relations;
- 2) This correspondence is significant only to a very limited extent, as their responses to five out of eight value-goal pairs seem to be contaminated with responses to other values and goals.
- 3) Inter-personal values are generally confused with international goals and vice versa, so that it can not be concluded if either is derived from the other.
- 4) No distinct ideological pattern seems to underlie the response structure of the Pakistani students for either

international goals, or inter-personal values.

These conclusions show that the findings of the present study differ remarkably from those of William Scott. For comparative purposes, the points which were inferred by Scott from his study can be re-stated as:

- i) reactions of these college students to foreign policy corresponded somewhat to their values concerning interpersonal relations.
- ii) the subjects tend to regard nations and inter-nation relations in personal terms, and apply to them standards of action developed for inter-personal relations.
- iii) the international ideologies identified here as 'cooperativeness' and 'competitiveness' do not have direct empirical counterparts in interpersonal ideologies which unify the various personal values assessed in this study; . . . therefore, one cannot say that total international ideologies of interpersonal relations, but only that single international goals can be predicted, to some degree, from the personal values to which they correspond.¹²

In view of this remarkable difference existing between the findings of the two studies, it was decided to conduct more rigorous analyses of the results obtained from the present study in order to be able to explain some of the differences; this follows.

Some Further Analyses of the Results for the Present Study

The question arises: why did the response-structure

¹²Ibid., pp. 434-435.

of Pakistani students not follow the pattern of that of the American college students? A number of hypotheses can be posited, keeping in view Scott's research design, the nature of the present respondents, and the format of the results:

1) Scott's research design is essentially based on a scheme of conceptual definitions of certain inter-personal values and their corresponding international goals, so that their structural similarity makes it possible to envisage comparability between the ideal state of relations among people, represented by the personal value, and the ideal state of relations among nations, as seen through the foreign policy goal. Scott states that the eight personal values which were selected for this purpose, represented "values which had previously been found prevalent on campus", and that although "the pairings of international goals and personal values necessarily depended heavily on the author's judgment . . . all the correspondences were established a priori, and the instruments developed for each of the values and goals separately without any preliminary empirical comparisons".¹³

Moreover, the preliminary sets of items which were developed from the conceptual definitions of the values and

¹³Ibid., p. 422.

goals "were administered to purposive samples of students, and items were discarded from each set until they met Guttman's criteria for reproducibility".¹⁴

In other words it was Scott's aim to have:

- 1) A set of eight distinctly defined inter-personal values, each structurally and conceptually different from the other;
- 2) A set of eight distinctly defined international goals for the United States' foreign policy, each structurally and conceptually different from the other, but each having a corresponding value in the set of inter-personal values, so that there was structural and conceptual similarity between the value-goal pair in terms of ideal relations among people and ideal relations among nations,
- 3) to devise items which would correspond to conceptual definitions of each value and each goal.

Now, it is quite possible that in spite of the above mentioned controls, Scott's scales for inter-personal values, and his scales for international goals, might not have achieved enough (a) conceptual distinctiveness between various values and goals, (b) structural similarity between corresponding value-goal pairs, and/or (c) inter-item

¹⁴Ibid.

distinctiveness representing different values and goals in such a way that the scales could have been capable of successfully measuring the same attitudes, and their interrelations, for Pakistani students as they did for the American college students.

In other words, the conceptualizations of values and goals, and their item-wise representations, may not have been general enough, having universal applicability, by conveying the same sense to the Pakistani respondents as they did to the American respondents.

The same problem can be looked at from another angle; namely, from the point of view of the nature of the present respondents' socio-cultural background, and their general political orientations. From this point of view the problem takes these forms:

- 1) All the inter-personal values selected by Scott to be representative of American college students' values may not be the same as cherished by Pakistani student-respondents in their inter-personal relations;
- 2) The international goal items, although altered and adapted to the best possible extent for the present study, in order to suit Pakistan's special position in the international community and its cherished national goals, might still have appeared somewhat remote from Pakistan's

immediate national and international aspirations.

While the above two factors are enough to confuse the delicately balanced nature of the scales, still a third possibility could be:

3) Different items relating to conceptualized values and goals might not have been representative enough of the distinct value-goal maximizations, due to semantic differences or cultural gaps or inherent nondistinctiveness of the items.

In order to find out if any of the above stated hypothetical difficulties inherent in the scales, or arising out of the respondents' background, actually contributed to the responses and results, the following measures were adopted:

1) An observation of item-wise response structures for both the inter-personal value scales and the scales for international goals for this study. This was done to find out the popularity (or otherwise) of each item, indicating the value orientation of the respondents with respect to the same. Tables X, XI, XII, and XIII represent these results.

2) A factor analysis of the inter-correlation matrices for inter-personal values and international goals in this study to find out if, in the presence of variety in responses,

clusterings of results do not occur on the pattern of Scott's results, whether any other ordering takes place.

3) A factor analysis of all the items in each scale, in order to find out if the items show high loadings on factors in such a way that for each scale, they were distributed on eight different factors exactly corresponding to the item-sets making up eight different value-goal categories in the original scales. This would have been the ideal position, predictable from Scott's a priori assumptions. But this not being the case, as already shown from previous results, it was expected that through factor analysis it would be possible to find out which items cluster together to load highly on the same factors. This would give a clue if, for Pakistani respondents, items relating to various values and goals as conceptualized by Scott do not convey the same individual or collective sense, how else are they held together, and which ones, by similar underlying factors.

Tables XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII show the results of the factor analyses suggested in 2) and 3) above. These and a discussion about them will follow in Chapters IV and V. The next chapter, III, gives the tables showing results for item-wise responses for the two scales, and their discussion.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSES OF ITEM-WISE RESPONSES FOR THE INTER-PERSONAL VALUE AND INTERNATIONAL GOAL SCALES

As stated previously, this chapter consists mainly of presentation and discussion of item-wise responses for the scales of international goals, and scales of inter-personal values, with regard to the present study. Accordingly, Tables X, XI, XII and XIII represent different aspects of the item-wise responses of the two scales. It is intended first to make some observations about the general pattern of responses to items relating to inter-personal values and international goals with the help of relevant tables and then proceed to further analyses and discussion about them.

A close look at Table X reveals that in the case of inter-personal value scales, there is a general tendency to react positively to most of the items. Thus "always dislike" and "don't know" responses are considerably few, while most responses tend to be within the "always admire" category. The average figures for these responses show that there are only seven items with an average response of 1.5 or more, out of which only one touches the "2" mark. The rest are between 1.00 and 1.4. (To repeat the scoring procedure for response-categories: 1 = always admire; 2 = don't know;

TABLE X

ITEM-WISE RESPONSES FOR EACH INTER-PERSONAL VALUE, IN
DISTINCT CLUSTERS

(1 = always admire; 2 = don't know; 3 = always dislike)

<u>Value</u>	<u>Item No. on Questionnaire</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Self Control					
1	5	49	2	1	1.0
2	9	46	3	3	1.1
3	15	50	1	1	1.0
4	28	45	3	4	1.2
5	39	35	9	8	1.4
Intellectualism					Mean 1.1
1	1	47	4	1	1.1
2	12	40	10	2	1.2
3	30	45	7	0	1.4
4	33	44	4	4	1.2
5	37	43	7	2	1.2
Kindness					Mean 1.2
1	18	37	11	4	1.3
2	24	19	21	12	1.8
3	31	45	3	4	1.2
4	34	33	13	6	1.4
Social Skills					Mean 1.4
1	2	47	3	2	1.1
2	13	43	6	3	1.2
3	16	26	18	8	1.6
4	19	48	4	0	1.0
5	32	49	2	1	1.0
Religiousness					Mean 1.2
1	4	37	6	9	1.4
2	8	41	9	2	1.2
3	22	37	13	2	1.3
4	27	31	12	9	1.5
5	36	36	10	6	1.4
Independence					Mean 1.3
1	*6 (-)	42	8	2	1.2
2	11	43	7	2	1.2
3	17	35	3	14	1.5
4	29	35	11	6	1.4
5	*7 (-)	47	2	3	1.1
					Mean 1.2

TABLE X (cont.)

<u>Value</u>	<u>Item No. on Questionnaire</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Status					
1	14	48	0	4	1.1
2	21	26	5	21	<u>1.9</u>
3	26	46	2	4	1.1
4	38	40	4	8	1.3
					Mean 1.3
Loyalty					
1	3	37	10	5	1.3
2	10	47	4	1	1.1
3	20	25	12	15	<u>1.8</u>
4	23	15	15	22	<u>2.1</u>
5	25	45	6	1	1.1
6	35	47	4	1	1.1
					Mean 1.4
Total Mean		39.7	7.02	5.2	

3 = always dislike.¹

Secondly, given this general tendency of responding positively, the items which have elicited comparatively larger numbers of negative or neutral responses do not belong to similar value-categories. Thus single items, falling within different value categories, seem to appeal negatively to the respondents, indicating that it is not the value on the whole which is unpopular, but single items which seem to provoke negative reactions in the respondents. Again, referring to Table X, it can be seen that items with an average of more than 1.5 are dispersed in various categories. (A figure of more than 1.5 would be indicative of the fact that the response to that particular item tends to be more unfavorable, or neutral, than otherwise.) Thus, e.g., Item 24 with an average of 1.8 belongs to the value "Kindness to People"; Item 16, with an average of 1.6, refers to "Social Skills"; Item 27, with 1.5 average, to "Religiousness"; Item 29, with 1.5 average, to "Independence", and so forth. These items have been underlined in

¹This generalization includes the responses to Items 6 and 7 for inter-personal value of Independence (Table X) for which the reverse of the statements given in the questionnaire were true for the value. This fact all the more supports the statement about generalized tendency for positive responses. These items are 'starred' and carry a (-) sign with them in Table X to indicate their peculiar position.

the Table.²

Table XIII, to be followed and discussed later in the chapter, gives the operationalized form of these "unpopular" items, showing if their verbal structure might have influenced the response pattern in this respect.

In brief, then, it can be interpreted from the tables of item-wise responses to inter-personal values that while variance in responses to inter-personal value-items did occur, the respondents do not appear to have particularly distinguished between different values as originally conceptualized. Instead, single items referring to various values earned negative or neutral responses for some reasons.

A slightly different picture emerges from studying the item-wise responses for international goals as represented in Table XI. It seems that in the case of

²Again, this observation includes responses to Items 6 and 7 related to Independence (as shown in Table X) for which the reverse statements were true for the value of Independence. In other words, Items 6 and 7 are not exclusively dealt with here by including their low averages (1.2, 1.1) in the list of high average responses for other items, with a view that they imply negative reactions to Independence as an inter-personal value. Instead, these items will be included in Table XII, along with the corresponding statements in the actual questionnaire, as "unpopular items". Moreover, later in this chapter, some further considerations will be given to "Independence" as having emerged as an exceptional case from many points of view in this study.

TABLE XI

ITEM-WISE RESPONSES FOR EACH INTERNATIONAL GOAL IN DISTINCT CLUSTERS

(1 = should be a goal; 2 = don't know; 3 = should not be a goal)

<u>International Goal</u>	<u>Item No. in Questionnaire</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Pacifism					
1	7	31	5	16	1.7
2	9	36	6	10	1.5
3	32	35	7	10	1.5
4	35	25	5	22	1.9
Cultural Development					Mean 1.6
1	1	47	0	5	1.1
2	3	43	1	8	1.3
3	18	13	4	35	2.4
4	28	41	2	9	1.3
Humanitarianism					Mean 1.5
1	5	18	4	30	2.2
2	13	25	10	17	1.8
3	16	26	6	20	1.8
4	20	26	3	23	1.9
5	25	48	2	2	1.1
6	40	45	0	7	1.2
Co-existence					Mean 1.6
1	21	38	4	10	1.4
2	27	50	2	0	1.0
3	30	31	7	14	1.6
4	37	15	9	28	2.2
Religiousness					Mean 1.5
1	2	17	12	23	2.1
2	10	31	6	15	1.6
3	17	41	4	7	1.3
4	19	25	4	23	1.9
5	23	31	10	11	1.6
6	31	20	8	24	2.0
7	36	23	14	15	1.8
8	39	12	11	29	2.3
Independence					Mean 1.5
1	11	48	1	3	1.1
2	14	38	4	10	1.4
3	15	34	3	15	1.6
4	38	39	6	7	1.3
					Mean 1.3

TABLE XI (cont.)

<u>International Goal</u>	<u>Item No. in Questionnaire</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Power					
1	6	24	7	21	1.9
2	12	32	4	16	1.6
3	22	13	6	33	<u>2.3</u>
4	29	36	6	10	1.5
5	33	16	8	28	<u>2.2</u>
Nationalism					Mean 1.9
1	4	36	3	13	1.5
2	8	25	4	23	1.9
3	24	48	0	4	1.1
4	26	50	2	0	1.0
5	34	37	7	8	1.4
					Mean 1.3
Total Mean		31.97	5.1	14.3	

international goal items, the respondents were able to distinguish more clearly between the various goals underlying the items. On the whole there is more variety of responses, and more clear indications of definite "should" or "should not be a goal" attitudes. "Don't know" responses are considerably fewer than any of the other response categories. This shows that the respondents were able to clearly relate different items to respective goals, and respond accordingly. This is further indicated by the mean figures of responses for each item. Thus there are 14 items with an average between 1.00 to 1.4; 25 with an average between 1.5 and 2.4; and 13 with an average between 2.5 and 3.00. The mean of total responses to the response category coded as "1" is 31.97; to response category coded as "2", it is 5.1; and to response category coded as "3", it is 14.3.

An observation of the item-wise responses for different international goals in distinct clusters indicates that as was the case with inter-personal values, the responses for single items relating to similar goals are not always in the same direction. Considerably "unfavored" single items appear in a cluster of an otherwise generally acceptable goal, e.g., items for which 25 or more responses indicating "should not be a goal" exist, resulting in an average of more than 2.00, in an otherwise less than 2.00

average cluster, are: Item 18, relating to Cultural Development; Item 5, relating to Humanitarianism; Item 37, relating to Co-existence; Items 2 and 3, relating to Religiousness; and Items 22 and 33, relating to Power. These have been underlined in the table.

Thus, again, as it was true in the case of inter-personal values, it seems that in the case of international goals also, single goals vary in "popularity", and do not always represent interwoven goal-conceptions in the minds of the respondents.

Table XII, in the same way as Table XIII contains actual statements corresponding to these comparatively "unpopular" international goal items, and will be followed and discussed later.

With regard to responses concerning single international goal items, then, it can be concluded that underlying international goals were, to some extent, distinctly perceived by the respondents of this study. There is variety in responses; specially considerable division occurs between "should" or "should not be a goal" reactions, although single items vary in popularity regardless of the goals which they, in principle maximize.

Comparing these with the observations made with regard to inter-personal value-scales, one can conclude that

while Pakistani respondents did not make clear distinctions between various inter-personal values, for which generally positive responses prevailed, they do seem to have distinct perceptions of various international goals for which definite positive or negative responses were given. In both cases single items vary in popularity regardless of the value or goal which they represented. It can also be pointed out here that the general tendency for positive responses for inter-personal value-items resulting in generally high correlation figures also must have caused a contamination of results regarding correlations between various corresponding and non-corresponding values and goals which were considered earlier in order to establish distinctiveness of various values and goals from each other, and from their non-corresponding pairs. This distortion can ultimately be held responsible for contaminated evidence about the hypothesis regarding value-goal correspondence as posited earlier in the study.

Discussion

The observations regarding the item-wise responses for inter-personal values and international goals can further be related with some of the suggestions made earlier with regard to possible sources of differences in the results of Scott's original study, and those of the present replication. It was suggested that the differences

in the results of the two studies, and lack of definitive evidence for Scott's hypotheses in the results of the present study, can be traced back to either some or all of the following possibilities:

- 1) Values and goals in Scott's scales were not sufficiently distinct;
- 2) There was not enough "structural similarity" between corresponding value-goal pairs as conceptualized by Scott;
- 3) Different items representing values and goals in the scales were not distinctly representative of the respective values and goals;

or, from the point of view of respondents' background:

- 1) Inter-personal values as contained in Scott's scales did not represent Pakistani students' values;
- 2) International goals represented in Scott's scales did not represent cherished goals of Pakistan's foreign policy;
- 3) Each single item did not represent the value or goal which it was in principle structured to represent.

Judging from each of the above suggestions, the following remarks seem plausible:

- 1) Overwhelmingly positive responses to inter-personal value

items by Pakistani respondents suggest that inter-personal values were not particularly distinguished among themselves by Pakistani respondents. But variety in responses to international goal-items indicates that those were comparatively distinctly perceived.

2) Lack of significant correspondence between the Pakistani students' response pattern to the inter-personal values and their corresponding international goals points to the fact that significant "structural similarity" does not exist between corresponding value-goal pairs as represented in Scott's conceptual scheme; or was not perceived by the respondents.

3) Since single items comprising various scales vary in terms of the types of responses they received, regardless of the value or goal they maximized, it can be said that items varied in their degree of representativeness of values and goals.

From the point of view of Pakistani respondents' unique background:

1) Overwhelmingly positive responses to inter-personal values by the respondents indicate that the values represented in the present scales are generally cherished by Pakistani students;

2) Generally positive and definitive responses to international goal-items by Pakistani respondents indicate that Pakistan's foreign policy goals represented in the present scales are within proper scope and dimension of Pakistan's foreign policy aspirations;

3) All items do not seem to be perceived as being uniformly representative of the value or goal which they in principle represented, as responses to single items show variance regardless of favorability or otherwise of the respective value or goal. This in effect amounts to the same thing as stated in 3) above, with regard to Scott's scales.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that at least some of the differences between the results of Scott's original study, and the present replication, regarding major hypotheses in Scott's investigation can be sought in lack of sufficient distinction between various inter-personal values in Scott's scales; lack of "structural similarity" between value-goal pairs as conceptualized by Scott; and lack of representativeness of the relevant values or goals in the case of certain single items.

Taking a lead from these conclusions, it might be helpful to scrutinize Scott's scales for inter-personal values, and for foreign policy goals, to see if inherent flaws existed in the same, or in the setup through which

these instruments were to be utilized to discover any relationships in peoples' attitudes toward relations between two classes of actors (people and nations). This will be done with regard to each of the three above points.

A close look at Scott's scales for inter-personal values shows that eight items of inter-personal values which have been selected by Scott to comprise these scales refer to, with the possible exception of Religiousness, generally likable characteristics in the inter-personal value system of any society. Thus Self-Control, Intellectualism, Kindness, Social Skills, Independence, Status, and Loyalty -- all appear to be desirable social values, very likely to provoke favorable responses from most individuals who have any conceptions about them. A value like Self-Control might be hard to practice, and the opposite of it might be an acceptable mode of behavior in some societies, but still the value maintains its positive appeal. In fact, taken specifically in Scott's conceptual-definitional terms, viz "acting towards others with restraint of aggressive impulses", it would be a more acceptable than other behavior, in most social situations. Similarly, Status might be an undesirable social value from a certain point of view, but if a person cares about "gaining the respect of other people", it is by no means an abominable attitude, particularly when practiced within limits. All the items relating to this inter-personal

value in Scott's scales appear to be quite "mild" and by no means likely to provoke definite negative responses from any respondents.

The rest of these values are also very possibly acceptable social values. In the case of Pakistani students, even Religiousness will be a more acceptable than other social value in view of the versatile role played by religion at social, political, local, and national levels in Pakistani society.

The result of this generally acceptable nature of the values comprising the inter-personal value scales can be that when respondents come across a list of statements representing these values, there might follow a general tendency to give favorable reactions to most of them, ignoring in the process minor extremities, or negative implications. Only very extreme cases or very strongly provoking statements would then be able to break the trend. This seems to have happened in the case of Pakistani respondents, who generally gave "always admire" responses to most of the items in the scales presented to them, consequently, without clear indications of any distinct value orientations of their value-systems.

Since it was Scott's aim to correlate responses to these inter-personal values with those obtained for

international goal-items in order to establish significant correspondences between the two, a set of more distinct value-items would probably have been helpful for obtaining clearer results.

Secondly, an examination of Scott's scales for international goals suggests that most of these have come to carry significant but varied implications in today's world. Some of these have become associated with considerably unpopular behavior traits of nations, though, again, varying with regard to the implications they may have for respondents of various backgrounds. Thus, while Pacifism and Co-existence have served as dominant international themes in the modern world, Cultural Development and Humanitarianism represent ideals comparatively remote from the domain of the "emerging nations", the latter to some extent "subjects" for the same. Similarly, Independence, Power and Nationalism can be looked at as goals which are generally sought by nations, and at the same time as ideologies, or phenomena which can take undesirable forms in certain circumstances, e.g., while for an emerging nation Independence, Power, and Nationalism can be highly desirable and jealously guarded themes, the expression of the same by super powers might be associated with "imperialism" or "expansionism". Responses to items relating to goals such as these would depend largely on the respondents' peculiar orientations.

In brief, it appears that the international goals in Scott's scales are too intense and varied in connotations when compared to their corresponding inter-personal values. Consequently, the "structural similarity" sought in their conceptualization loses a great part of its significance. The respondents are more likely to be easily provoked by items regarding these international goals than by their corresponding, but comparatively "mild", items relating to inter-personal values.

Moreover, one of the basic assumptions in Scott's study has been that international relations represent a "peripheral concern" for most individuals. But in his own study the intercorrelations of the international goals show that the "goals" are perceived by the respondents as interwoven in two different ideologies. Thus in Scott's own words, "there is something extra personal" about these goals:

Although the preferred policy orientations, taken individually, were not often discriminated from the putatively corresponding personal orientations, the organization of the former into related clusters could not be very well predicted from the organization of the latter.³

It can, therefore, be inferred that an explanation

³ Scott, op. cit., pp. 434-435.

of international ideologies can not always be sought in ideologies about inter-personal relations.

The third point, namely that single items varied in "popularity" regardless of the value or goal they represented, will be discussed later, after some observations have been made about Pakistani students' response pattern for international goal-items. At present, keeping in view the preceding discussion, and taking into account the results of the present study as given previously, it can be summed up that Pakistani students' generally positive responses to the items of inter-personal value scales are explainable in terms of their not perceiving them as representing distinct values. This general lack of distinction between items of personal values on the one hand and definitive, varied reactions to the items of international goals on the other, led to contaminated results considering the original hypothesis, for which the correspondence in attitudes with regard to the two domains was to be tested through correlations for value-goal pairings and correlations for non-corresponding values and goals. As stated earlier, the significant positive correlations between value-goal pairs do not provide enough evidence for the hypothesis as in the case of the present study, these correlations are more often exceeded by those of

non-corresponding values and goals.⁴

Pakistani Students' Responses to Scales for Foreign Policy Goals: Some Observations

Table III, showing the intercorrelations of the international goals as obtained from the results of the present study and its comparison with Scott's corresponding table, as reproduced in Table IV in the present study, shows that considerable variance exists between the response pattern of the Pakistani students and that of the subjects of Scott's study with regard to the same. First, in the case of the present study, there is no clustering of results in such a way that particular ideological orientations can be easily deduced, as was the case with Scott's study. Secondly, high correlations exist between certain goals which

⁴It might be appropriate here to mention one other factor, which has not been considered yet but might be of some significance with regard to the peculiar pattern of responses obtained for the scales for inter-personal values in the case of the present study. This refers to the fact as mentioned earlier in Chapter I that Scott's scales for international goals and inter-personal values were administered to subjects as part of a larger questionnaire, so that the international goal items formed the first part of the questionnaire, while the inter-personal value-items formed the very last part of it. The intervening sections of the questionnaire represented a different scale, rather long and tiring -- approximately averaging at one hour completing time. It can be expected that by the time the present respondents reached the part of the questionnaire with inter-personal value-items, they were already tired. Some actually had complained about the questionnaire being too long, which they were asked to complete in one sitting. Lack of interest and attention, then, might have led to hurried responses, and subsequent confusion of variations among Scott's scales.

were negatively correlated in Scott's study, e.g., Humanitarianism and Co-existence showed negative correlations with Independence, Power, and Nationalism in Scott's study, but they have significant positive correlations with each other in the results of the present study. Similarly, Religiousness had small correlations with all the other goals in Scott's study, while the opposite is the case for the present study, with the exception of this goal's relationship with Pacifism and Cultural Development. This distinctive attitude of the Pakistani respondents towards international goals seems to make an interesting part of the study. It therefore appears to be relevant to make some more observations about the same with the help of item-wise response tables and relate them to some speculations about Pakistani students' background and "expected" orientations in this field.

The speculations about the Pakistani students' "probable" attitudinal directions are given here first, in order to provide better perspective for the actual results. The following considerations appear to be important in this respect: Pakistan belongs to the so-called "emergent nations" of today's world; it emerged as an independent nation not very long ago (August, 1947); and some of its problems in the realm of international relations are national security, in view of hostile relations with India, national identity, due to its proximity to India, desire for close

relations with predominantly Moslem countries, due to its identification with Islam as state religion; and dependence upon the west for reasons of economic underdevelopment and national defense.⁵ These aspects of Pakistan's foreign policy orientations, and some others which generally characterize emergent nations in their relations with the rest

⁵It would be beyond the scope of this study to go into the details of Pakistan's foreign policy problems and aspirations at this point. A general and fairly enlightening account of the same can be seen in Mohammad Ayub Khan, FM, Friends Not Masters, A Political Autobiography (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); pp. 174-185 and 186-226. Also recommended in this regard are: Z.A. Bhutto, Foreign Policy of Pakistan; a Compendium of Speeches Made in the National Assembly of Pakistan 1962-1964 (Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, 1964); by the same author, The Myth of Independence (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); G.W. Choudhury, Pakistan's Relations with India, 1947-1966 (New York: Praeger, 1968); J.B. Gupta, Indo-Pakistan Relations, 1947-55 (Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1958); Arif Hussain, Pakistan; Its Ideology and Foreign Policy (London: F. Cass, 1966); and Aslam Siddiqi, Pakistan Seeks Security (Longmans, Green, Pakistan branch, 1960). For an insight in the ideological orientations of the Pakistani people in social, political, and international fields, the following works can be looked at: Manzooruddin Ahmad, Pakistan, the Emerging Islamic State (Karachi: Allies Book Corporation, 1966); L. Binder, Religion and Politics in Pakistan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); Ervin Birnbaum, Some Theoretical and Practical Aspects of the Islamic States of Pakistan (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1956); R. Dale Campbell, Pakistan: Emerging Democracy (Princeton, N.J.: Von Nostrand, 1963); Conference on Pakistan Since 1958, McGill University, 1964, papers presented at . . .; Javed Iqbal, The Ideology of Pakistan and its Implementation with a Foreword by M. Ayub Khan (Lahore: S. Ghulam Ali, 1959); W.C. Smith, Pakistan as an Islamic State (Lahore: Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, 1951); D.N. Wilber, et al, Pakistan, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1964).

of the world, e.g., their attitudes toward power and imperialism, can be expected to reflect in the reactions of Pakistani students to Pakistan's foreign policy goals as represented in the present scales. To take some examples, an extra-sensitivity of Pakistani respondents to items like Independence and Nationalism can be predicted, especially as they would involve phenomena like national prestige, national security, and national identity, etc. The international goal of Power might bring out negative reactions for its association with foreign domination, while Co-existence might be a preferred goal in view of national security. Pacifism, Humanitarianism, and Cultural Development might possibly provide paradoxical situations, as in view of Pakistan's special position, it might be that although some respondents might consider these to be ideally desirable but still respond negatively or neutrally to them, regarding them to be too unpractical from the point of view of Pakistan's immediate problems and resources. The international goal of Religiousness deserves an extra note here. While on the one hand Pakistani respondents can be expected to react favorably to most of the items relating to Religiousness due to the dominant role of religion in the ideology and politics of Pakistan, but at the same time the background of the present respondents in Western type education, and their continued exposure to more secularized ways of thinking during their stay in Canada may have resulted in

the opposite trend viz a trend away from Religiousness. In any case their responses to this goal should be of particular interest.

The Results

Returning now to the results in Table XI, it can be noticed that in spite of variance in responses, positive responses prevail more than neutral or negative responses. It will be instructive then to consider those "goals" and single items first which have more predominantly negative or neutral responses and, therefore, are more noticeable.

On the whole, the international goal of Power seems to have got most "should not be a goal" or "don't know" responses, with a mean of 1.9 in terms of item-wise responses. Pacifism and Humanitarianism rate second in unpopularity, with a mean of 1.6 in each case with regard to item-wise responses. Cultural Development, Co-existence, and Religiousness each average at 1.5; and Independence and Nationalism seem to be most favored international goals with the Pakistani respondents, showing an item-wise response average of 1.3, being closest to "should be a goal" responses.

These results seem to correspond quite closely with the speculations made in the preceding pages. It was suggested that Pakistani respondents will probably be on guard with respect to items of Independence and Nationalism. This

is confirmed by the results. Again it was hypothesized that they will respond negatively to Power, and prefer Co-existence. This also has been supported by the present results, as Power elicited the least number of positive responses, while Co-existence with an average of 1.5 can be considered a preferred goal. Both Pacifism and Humanitarianism have been comparatively unpopular international goals with the Pakistani students, but again, as was stated earlier, this is not unexpected in view of Pakistan's preponderance with problems of national defense and scarcity of resources in socio-economic fields, the latter inhibiting any humanitarian aspirations.⁶ Cultural Development and Religiousness also

⁶This statement is confirmed by the fact that some respondents actually wrote small notes to this effect with their responses on the questionnaire, e.g., respondent 028 gave a response of "should be a goal" for Item 13 in the international goal scales, which pertains to Humanitarianism and reads "Helping India by sending food supplies to famine-stricken areas therein", but added in parentheses: "If we have enough". Similarly, the same respondent, while responding to Item 40, in the same scales, again referring to Humanitarianism -- "Trying to help nations with worse social and economic conditions" -- gave "should not be a goal" response to the item, but added the words: "It is a good thing. But can't afford right now."

Another respondent, 046, repeated "Depends on many considerations" along with his responses for certain items including one each for Pacifism and Humanitarianism (35 and 40).

To be noted here also is an interesting example highlighting Pakistan's relations with India, provided by respondent 048, who emphasised while responding to Item 16 in international goal scales ("Being helpful to nations even if they are against us"), "India is a special case for which the answer is 'yes'". His response to the item was "Don't know".

have an equal average of item-wise responses, and seem to occupy a middle-ground position. In other words respondents seem to be closely divided on issues relating to these two goals. Again, such a division with regard to Cultural Development seems explainable in the same terms as responses to Humanitarianism are, viz that although it might have appeared to be a favorable goal to some respondents, they still would hesitate to respond positively to items relating to it, in view of Pakistan's limited resources in the field.⁷ With regard to Religiousness, the hypothesis presented in the previous pages seems to be borne out well by the results. The remarkable division of responses between "should" and "should not be a goal" indicates that these two groups represent the "traditionalists" and the "secularists" or more modernized elites of Pakistani society.⁸ The more

⁷This was again confirmed by explicit statements of some respondents in this regard, as found written in the questionnaire. Please note that this was done in spite of requests that the questionnaire be answered only as it is, and as rapidly as possible. An example of this is the negative response of respondent 028 to Item 1 in the international goal scales -- "Participating in education development programs all over the world" -- which was followed by these words: "Not at present".

⁸For a detailed discussion about this schism in the elite groups in Pakistan, see Dr. Manzooruddin Ahmad, "Politics of Modernization in Pakistan", paper presented at the conference on "The Modernization of an Islamic State -- Pakistan", November, 1967, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

fascinating aspect of this part of the results is the considerable persistence of the more traditionally oriented upholders of religion to stick to their beliefs, regardless of their presence in a much more modernized social environment, and their academic interactions with the same by virtue of being presently in Canada. As a matter of fact, in the present results, more respondents have favored items pertaining to Religiousness than have abstained, or negatively reacted. This is true for five out of the eight Religiousness items, as seen in Table XI. This shows that Religion is a dominant factor in the Pakistani students' views about Pakistan's foreign policy goals.

Some of the results as seen in the intercorrelations matrix for international goals of this study can also be interpreted with the help of the preceding discussion, e.g., the lack of clusters of results following on the pattern of Scott's study can be interpreted as follows: in Scott's study the international goals of Pacifism, Cultural Development, Humanitarianism, and Co-existence positively intercorrelate with each other, but are generally negatively correlated with the goals of Independence, Power, and Nationalism, which in turn are positively correlated with each other. Religiousness has small correlations with each cluster in Scott's study. According to Scott's study, these two clusters of results can be interpreted as representing two different ideological orientations on the part of respondents viz co-operativeness and

competitiveness. This seems to be an acceptable interpretation for the attitudes shown by the American respondents in Scott's study. However, in the case of Pakistani students, the international goals as represented in Scott's scales convey a somewhat different sense. Thus, while Pacifism, Cultural Development, Humanitarianism, and Co-existence might represent a "co-operative" attitude for Pakistani students as well, the international goals of Independence, Power and Nationalism mean more than just a "competitive" attitude; at least two of them viz Independence and Nationalism involve issues which are much more important, and likely to be idealized as goals, for Pakistani students, than they would be for the American students. This has already been discussed earlier, and confirmed by the results of the present study. Therefore it is unlikely that these particular goals will show low correlations with other desirable goals of Pakistan's foreign policy, as seen by the Pakistani respondents. This is probably the main reason why the results in the present study are not representative of the ideological divisions apparent in the results of Scott's study. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that the same ideologies might still be prevalent among Pakistani respondents, as they are among the American students.

This latter point can be supported by making a reference to the low correlations between the items of Pacifism and Cultural Development on the one hand and Religion, Independence, Power, and Nationalism on the other. This can be

interpreted to indicate that even among Pakistani respondents those who tended to favor items relating to Pacifism and Cultural Development, they generally did not favor items relating to Religion, Independence, Power, and Nationalism, reflecting partly Scott's ideological orientations. In the present study Religion seems to be included in the latter cluster, in view of its close involvement with issues of Nationalism on the whole in Pakistan. The significant correlations of Religiousness with other items have already been discussed.

In brief, it can be concluded that Pakistani students' responses to international goals are conditioned to a great extent by Pakistan's peculiar position and problems in international relations.

Single Unpopular Items with Regard to International Goals and Inter-Personal Values as They Appear in the Present Study

It seems appropriate here to give some further considerations to the single unpopular items in the international goals and inter-personal values-scales in the present study. As has been pointed out earlier, the results of these two scales, as obtained in this study, show that certain single items have been generally negatively reacted to, regardless of the reaction attributed to the goal or value as a whole, which they represented in the scales. Tables XII and XIII give the actual statements corresponding

to these items of the two scales in the questionnaire. They will now be looked at individually, to see if their verbal structure had something to do with their general unpopularity. First, considering international goal items, it seems that this might have been the case with some of them, e.g., the first, relating to the international goal of Cultural Development has been constructed in such a way that the Cultural Development goal has been placed in a comparative position with the issue of national security. As pointed out earlier, "national security" represents a sensitive and urgent area in the field of Pakistan's international relations. The problem of Kashmir and Pakistan's hostile relations with neighbouring India provide impetus for it. Hence, predominantly negative responses to this item might have originated in Cultural Development being considered of secondary importance as compared to national security measures by most respondents.

Similarly, the second item in this table, which relates to Humanitarianism, again has the goal of Humanitarianism placed in a conditional situation, so that even if many respondents might have favored Pakistan's participation in "programs of improving the conditions of the world", few would go along with the idea of Pakistan's "going out of its way" with regard to the same.

The fifth item about Religiousness brings the same

TABLE XII

STATEMENTS CORRESPONDING TO UNPOPULAR INTERNATIONAL GOAL-
ITEMS WITH AN AVERAGE RESPONSE-CATEGORY OF MORE THAN 2.00

	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>International Goal</u>	<u>Response Average</u>	<u>Statement</u>
1.	18	Cultural Development	2.4	Trying to concentrate on cultural development rather than worrying about secur- ity measures for national defense.
2.	5	Humanitarian- ism	2.2	Going out of our way to participate in all programs of improving the conditions of the world.
3.	37	Co-existence	2.2	Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies.
4.	2	Religiousness	2.1	Abiding by Shariah and Sunnah in our dealings with other nations.
5.	39	Religiousness	2.3	Always putting religious interests ahead of all soc- ial, economic and political needs, and formulating foreign policies accord- ingly.
6.	22	Power	2.3	Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life.
7.	33	Power	2.2	Trying to make Pakistan the leader of Afro-Asian countries.

in contrast with other national interests, in which case the latter seem to have prevailed. (This seems to be an important finding with regard to Pakistanis' attitudes towards Religion vs. Nationalism.)

The fourth, sixth, and seventh items seem to be representing normal variation.

The Case of Inter-Personal Values

Turning to inter-personal values, again unpopularity for some of the items seems to have arisen out of their particular verbal structure. But first, with regard to inter-personal values, it will be worthwhile to repeat that Pakistani students' responses to this set of items were much more generally positively oriented and less varied than those given for the international items. Unfavorable responses with regard to inter-personal items, then, should indicate more strongly that either their underlying values were misunderstood, or they represented values with considerable negative implications for the Pakistani respondents. Still, before proceeding to a consideration of those items, attention must be drawn to the three unpopular items relating to one particular value viz Independence. It has been pointed out at an earlier stage that this value represents an exceptional case in the present study, showing lowest correlations with every other value in the scales (Table

TABLE XIII

STATEMENTS CORRESPONDING TO UNPOPULAR INTER-PERSONAL VALUE-ITEMS WITH AN AVERAGE RESPONSE-CATEGORY OF 1.5 OR MORE

<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Value Category</u>	<u>Response Average</u>	<u>Statement</u>
1. 24	Kindness to People	1.8	Turning the other cheek and forgiving others when they harm you.
2. 16	Social Skills	1.6	Being the person in the house who is most popular with the opposite sex.
3. 27	Religiousness	1.5	Encouraging others to offer prayers regularly, and lead religious lives.
4. 29	Independence	1.5	Being independent, original, non-conformist, different from other people.
5. 21	Status	1.9	Being in a position to direct and influence others' lives.
6. 20	Loyalty	1.8	Treating an attack on one's group as an attack on oneself.
7. 23	Loyalty	2.1	Concealing most of one's dislikes or disagreements with fellow members of the organization.
8. 6*	Independence	1.2	Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of one.
9. 7*	Independence	1.1	Working and living in harmony with other people.

VIII). In the table of item-wise responses to various inter-personal values (Table X), this is the only value with most negative responses in effect, although this is not very obvious in the table, due to the fact that two of the statements relating to it had their reverse to be true for the same. These items (6 and 7) have been starred and carry (-) signs with them in the table. For both these items predominantly favorable responses were given, thus not breaking the rule of generally positive response-tendency for inter-personal value items by the Pakistan respondents, but meaning in effect that Independence has not been a popular value on the whole. Unpopular items relating to Independence, then, do not form an exception, but a rule, and hence will not be discussed with other single unpopular items, unless to look for reasons why independence has been an unfavored value on the whole. The only source where an explanation for this unpopularity can be sought seems to be comparative theorists' descriptions of traditional societies where the idea of communal life usually has precedence over items of "independence" and "individual freedom". Pakistani respondents' reaction to this particular inter-personal value, then, probably represents the low degree of modernization achieved in the socio-cultural life in Pakistani society in general. Interestingly, Table 7 in Scott's article, showing the intercorrelations among inter-personal values, has

something revealing in this respect. The value Independence in his study also has shown negative correlations with every other inter-personal value. But Scott has not discussed this point in his study.⁹

The other single unpopular value-item can now be considered. The first of these, viz Item 24, relating to Kindness, is peculiarly explainable in religious terms. Pakistani respondents' preoccupation with religion has already been demonstrated. According to Islamic teachings, the kind of forgiveness represented in this particular item is too demanding for human beings, and although considered desirable, is not required of them. It can be expected, then, that the present respondents, in spite of actually believing in doing what has been said in it, would probably not admit the validity of the statement in principle. Thus, while most of the items relating to the value Kindness to People were generally favored, this particular item seems to have been the single unfavored one in the scale.

The second item, Item 16, relating to Social Skills, is also easily explainable, but not in religious terms. The unpopularity of this item can be traced to the

⁹The negative nature of Items 6 and 7 was taken care of statistically, for the analysis of results and correlations, etc., while they were being calculated for this study or fed in computer for the same purpose.

traditional social taboos which exist in Pakistani society with regard to communications between the two sexes. If a person, then, enjoys popularity with the opposite sex, he will hardly be socially acceptable, instead of having much chance of being admired. This attitude has probably made a manifestation through the present respondents' reactions to this item. Notably, such responses have come from a group of distinct educational and, at least presently, modern background. It probably shows that traditionalism has a tendency to outlive environmental changes, in some cases.

The third item, relating to Religion, again has some obvious religious reasons for having obtained unfavorable responses. It has been an emphasized part of Islamic teachings that others should not be forced to follow the tenets of Islam. Since this seems to be implied in the present item, most respondents can be expected to have responded negatively to it for the reason just given.

The fourth -- Item 29 -- relates to Independence, and will be discussed later.

The verbal structure of the fifth item -- 21 -- doesn't give any clues for any misrepresentations. It apparently indicates a general aversion of Pakistani respondents to leadership qualities.

Items 20 and 23, serial-wise 6th and 7th, which

relate to Loyalty do again seem to have some verbal flaws. The first of these, "Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself", can be interpreted as a case of extreme loyalty, but at first sight, it appears to convey a feeling of some neurotic attitude in which a sense of injury to self dominates. This might have, possibly, led the respondents to react negatively to this item. The second of these items, although it can be stretched to imply co-operativeness, at first glance seems to give an impression of a sneaky character, hiding away everything from the others. Negative responses for this item, also, should therefore not be a surprise.

This brings us to Items 6 and 7 -- those relating to Independence. Item 29, referred to earlier, will also be included in discussion here, being another unpopular representative of the value Independence. As a matter of fact, Items 6 and 29 represent a near contrast to each other. They are very clearly stated as far as their verbal structure is concerned, and therefore it can be said that overwhelmingly positive responses to the former, and negative responses to the latter, are an indication of the fact that Independence is not a popular inter-personal value among Pakistani respondents. However, Item 7 appears to be represented by words which might be interpreted in many ways. At first sight it appears to imply a simple tendency for

social and co-operative living. Positive responses to this particular item cannot, therefore, necessarily be taken to mean that the respondents in favor of the item do not value Independence. Still, the response pattern for this particular item does not change the overall conclusion that Pakistani respondents do not favor Independence as an inter-personal value, as three out of five items still have results supporting that conclusion. Moreover, at least to some extent, even Item 7 indicates lack of Independence-oriented attitude.

It will probably be fair to conclude, then, that most of the single unpopular items in the inter-personal value scales, except the items relating to Independence, represent some over-sensitive norm-orientations of the Pakistani society.

On the whole, it can be concluded that Pakistani students' responses to certain single items in both the scales for international goals and inter-personal values, were partly conditioned by their peculiar semantic and cultural orientations.

Conclusion

The conclusions drawn from this part of the study can be summed up as follows:

- 1) The generally positive responses of Pakistani students to the inter-personal value-items are partly explainable in

terms of their being representative of generally acceptable social values. The inter-personal value Independence represents an exceptional case in this regard, being a predominantly unpopular value.

2) The response pattern of Pakistani students to the international goal-items of the questionnaire represents, to a great extent, Pakistan's peculiar problems and orientations in the field of international relations. Power is the least cherished goal of Pakistan's foreign policy, for the respondents of the present study, and Independence and Nationalism represent the most desirable goals. Religiousness seems to be peculiarly favored also in this regard.

3) Even theoretically, significant correspondence cannot be said to exist between the value-goal pairs as conceptualized by Scott. Empirically, lack of such correspondence has been borne out by the results of the present investigation.

4) The exceptional unpopularity of certain single items in the two scales, regardless of the popularity or otherwise of the value or goal they represented, is partly explainable in their peculiar verbal structure.

We will now concentrate on the results of the factor analyses of the data for the present study.

CHAPTER IV

FACTOR ANALYSES OF THE DATA FOR THE PRESENT STUDY: GOALS AND VALUES

As indicated previously, factor analyses of the data for the present study were undertaken with a view that more distinct clusterings of variables might be discernible through a common factor model. Since, in the present study, the intercorrelations of international goals and inter-personal values, among themselves as well as with each other, on the whole and item-wise, did not follow the predicted direction or pattern found in Scott's study, it was hoped that factor analysis of the various aspects of the present results might disclose some relationships among variables at different levels, which were not made clear by the preceding correlational analyses; or bring to focus some new kinds of orderings in data. Accordingly, factor analysis of international goals and inter-personal values was carried out separately, as well as together -- as represented in a single correlation matrix. Also, the forty items comprising the international goals scales, and 39 items comprising inter-personal values scales were factor analysed separately. The results of these factor analyses are presented in Tables XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII. These, and a discussion about them, will be followed by a detailed examination of the results obtained in Tables XVII and XVIII so that through further tables, representing actual questionnaire

statements corresponding to variables loading highly on each factor, an analysis of variability between the present scales, and the factor analysed model can be made.

The present chapter represents the results and discussion about the factor analyses of the international goals and inter-personal values as undertaken separately and as part of a single correlation matrix. Tables XVII and XVIII and their discussion will follow in the next chapter.

Table XIV gives the rotated factors found for the international goals of the Pakistani students. Three factors are extracted and the first striking thing about them is that the high loadings on the first and second factors follow very closely the clusterings of intercorrelations found by Scott in his intercorrelation matrix for international goals, but which were missing in the results of the present study. Thus, highly loaded on Factor I are: Religiousness (.872), Independence (.643), and Power (.802). The difference between this combination of loadings and the corresponding "ideological" clustering of Scott's results is that in Scott's results Nationalism is included in the group, while Religiousness is not. The opposite is true of the loadings here. High loadings on Factor II represent Pacifism (.750), Cultural Development (.727), and Humanitarianism (.547). These would correspond exactly to Scott's ideological cluster of cooperativeness, if we also

TABLE XIV

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL GOALS

Varimax rotation N=52*

<u>Goals</u>	<u>Factors</u>			<u>h²</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
Pacifism	0.019	(0.750)	0.154	0.587
Cultural Development	-0.027	(0.727)	-0.261	0.597
Humanitarianism	0.432	(0.547)	0.359	0.616
Co-existence	0.261	0.463	(0.596)	0.638
Religiousness	(0.872)	-0.075	0.028	0.767
Independence	(0.643)	0.310	0.071	0.514
Power	(0.802)	-0.013	0.155	0.667
Nationalism	0.048	-0.116	(0.872)	0.777

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of .50 shown in parentheses.

include Co-existence (.463) in the present group. Otherwise, with the exclusion of the same, all three goals with high loadings on Factor II are the same with high positive inter-correlations with each other in Scott's study, bearing, along with Co-existence, very small correlations with Scott's second cluster of Independence, Power, and Nationalism. The third factor here represents high loadings for Co-existence (.596) and Nationalism (.872).

It can be said with regard to these results that while the underlying factor structure of the international goals does not exactly correspond with the bi-ideological orientation of Scott's results, it is still indicative of the fact that two different ideological orientations might have motivated respondents of this study, as appears to have been the case with Scott's study. Moreover, if not exactly describable by terms Competitiveness and Co-operativeness, these might be entitled Assertive Nationalism and Peace-oriented Idealism in the context of the present study, although it should be noted that the variable Nationalism itself is represented by a different factor here. It appears that Nationalism and Co-existence as defined by Factor III represent an attitudinal model, different both from the Assertive Nationalism represented by Factor I, and Peace-oriented Idealism represented by Factor II.

Factor analysis of this part of the study, then, has been more helpful in determining attitudinal structure of the Pakistani respondents than the correlational analysis which was undertaken previously. Table XV represents the factor analysis of inter-personal values. Again three factors are extracted, but in this table there is no striking regularity, or patterning, of results on the model of the previous table. In Scott's study also the intercorrelations of inter-personal values did not have any distinct clusters corresponding to those found in the case of international goals. High loadings on Factor I here are Self-Control (.660), Kindness (.544), Religiousness (.775), Status (.748), and Loyalty (.763). This is a considerably dispersed representation of values from the point of view of the corresponding goals loading on Factor I in the previous table, and again tends to contradict Scott's hypothesis that people "tend to regard nations and inter-nation relations in personal terms, and apply to them standards of action developed for interpersonal relations". If this would not have been the case, the factor underlying a certain set of values should have been the same representing high loadings of their corresponding international goals.

Factor II has high loadings for Self-Control (.624), Intellectualism (.716), and Social Skills (.819). These loadings are closer to the high loadings on Factor II in

TABLE XV

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF INTER-PERSONAL VALUES

Varimax rotation N=52*

<u>Value</u>	<u>Factors</u>			<u>h²</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
Self-Control	(0.660)	(0.624)	0.098	0.834
Intellectualism	0.242	(0.716)	0.103	0.582
Kindness	(0.544)	0.272	-0.219	0.418
Social Skills	-0.042	(0.819)	-0.153	0.695
Religiousness	(0.775)	-0.018	0.204	0.643
Independence	-0.091	-0.006	(0.947)	0.906
Status	(0.748)	0.016	-0.169	0.588
Loyalty	(0.763)	0.263	-0.110	0.663

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of .50 shown in parentheses.

the previous table in terms of their correspondence with the international goals represented there (Pacifism, Cultural Development, and Humanitarianism). Factor III is the Independence factor with a high loading of .947 for the same.

With regard to inter-personal values loading highly on Factor I in this table, a word can be added. Although they do not theoretically correspond with the international goals loading highly on Factor I in Table XIV, when closely analysed and grouped together, they do seem to represent a value orientation, having some conceptual resemblance with the group of international goals, interpreted earlier as representing some kind of assertive nationalism. Thus, values loading highly on Factor I in the present table indicate an idealistic (high on Self-Control, Kindness, Religiousness), group-oriented (high on Loyalty), and assertive (high on Status) type response attitude, which can be seen as resembling to some extent the assertive (high on Power), nationalistic (high on Independence, Religiousness) attitude in terms of international goals.

Table XVI is a representative of factor analysis of international goals and inter-personal values in the same correlation matrix. Five factors are extracted. The variables loading highly on Factor I are Religiousness as an international goal (.639), Independence as an international

TABLE XVI

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF COMBINED INTERNATIONAL GOALS AND INTER-
PERSONAL VALUES

Varimax rotation N=52*

<u>Goals - Values</u>	<u>Factors</u>					<u>h²</u>
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	
Pacifism	0.071	0.322	0.181	(0.789)	-0.031	0.764
Cultural Development	0.290	0.352	-0.147	0.208	(-0.609)	0.643
Humanitarianism	0.226	(0.559)	0.544	0.235	0.071	0.720
Co-existence	0.185	(0.844)	0.061	0.109	0.155	0.785
Religiousness	(0.639)	-0.039	(0.678)	-0.196	0.140	0.928
Independence	(0.629)	0.122	0.287	0.140	0.045	0.514
Power	(0.599)	0.331	0.241	-0.239	0.104	0.594
Nationalism	0.206	0.313	-0.099	-0.066	(0.784)	0.769
Self-Control	(0.611)	0.384	0.422	0.188	0.002	0.735
Intellectualism	0.248	(0.883)	0.173	-0.071	-0.042	0.878
Kindness to People	(0.710)	0.142	-0.027	-0.064	0.013	0.529
Social Skills	0.047	0.165	(0.921)	0.102	0.006	0.888
Religiousness	(0.528)	0.054	0.152	0.078	(0.705)	0.808
Independence	-0.020	0.153	0.045	(-0.756)	0.083	0.604
Status	(0.741)	0.145	-0.083	0.197	0.199	0.656
Loyalty	(0.627)	0.250	0.266	0.474	0.034	0.753

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of .50 shown in parentheses.

goal (.629), Power (.599), Self-Control (.611), Kindness to People (.710), Religiousness as inter-personal value (.528), Status (.741), and Loyalty (.627). Surprisingly, these high loadings represent exactly the same international goals and inter-personal values which were loaded highly on the respective first factors in the separate factor analyses. It was pointed out while discussing the high loadings for Factor I in the inter-personal values factor matrix that the value orientation represented by these values as a group appeared to have some resemblance to the basic orientation behind the international goals of Religiousness, Power, and Nationalism put together. Since a single factor in the present table now represents high loadings for all the values and goals represented by the first factors in inter-personal value and international goal matrices respectively, it provides evidence that: 1) the attitudinal characteristics defining the variables relating to inter-personal values of Self-Control, Kindness to People, Religiousness, Status, and Loyalty correspond in essence to the attitudinal characteristics defining the variables relating to the international goals of Religiousness, Independence, and Power; and 2) that Scott's hypothesis that some significant correspondence does exist between the values which are cherished at the inter-personal level and goals which are envisaged at the international level does have some support in the present results, although it is not possible to determine its

directional nature at this stage, i.e., whether inter-personal values generalize into, or provide frames of reference for, international goals, or vice-versa. But at least some significant correspondence can be said to exist.

This observation, however, opens up a number of avenues for discussion. First, significant correspondence between value-goal pairs already had been found through correlational measures earlier in this study. But in the presence of equal or greater positive correlations between dissimilar values and goals, it could not have been established if the existing positive correlation between a certain value-goal pair implied any significantly greater correspondence between them. The present factor analysis is still not suggesting a significant pair-wise value-goal relationship, but merely that certain goals which as a group represent dimensions of one common factor are bound to have significant commonalities with the set of values which also represent manifestations of the same factor. Thus one set of goals and one set of values are brought to focus, which empirically refer to similar attitudinal dimensions. As pointed out earlier, the set of goals referred to here has close resemblance with Scott's cluster of goals which he interpreted as representing a competitive ideology. In the absence of exact correspondence with Scott's set of goals, and for lack of better terminology, the present set

of goals was termed Assertive Nationalism. This leads the argument into suggesting that the set of values loading highly on the same factor as goals relating to Assertive Nationalism on the whole must represent corresponding assertive group oriented attitudes at the inter-personal level.

This point will be taken up later, when an attempt will be made to analyze the pattern of high loadings for different items of values and goals on different factors.

In brief it can be concluded here that with regard to the present results some patterned ideological orientation is discernible in responses to international goals, and a somewhat corresponding value-orientation exists at the inter-personal level.

Factor II in Table XVI has high loadings for Humanitarianism (.559), Co-existence (.844), and Intellectualism (.883), apparently being the more idealistically oriented factor at both international and inter-personal levels -- again indicating some correspondence between value-goal orientations. Factor III has high loadings for Humanitarianism (.544), Religiousness (as international goal) (.678), and Social Skills (.921), another idealistically, but less intellectually, oriented factor, and hardly indicating any value-goal correspondence. Pacifism (.789) and Independence

as personal value (-.756) are high loadings on Factor IV, while Factor V has high loadings for Cultural Development (-.609), Nationalism (.784), and Religiousness as inter-personal value (.705). The last two factors seem to defy interpretation.

Discussion

The results of the preceding three tables show that factor analysis has been of help to some extent in clarifying the results which had not been indicative of very clear trends through correlational analysis. It was found that:

- 1) Some interpretable ideological grouping does exist in the Pakistani students' responses to international goals;
- 2) No such distinctly interpretable ideological clusters are visible in terms of inter-personal values, but the values loading highly on the first two factors in their factor matrix seem to represent some kind of distinct value orientation;
- 3) The goals loading highly on Factor I in the factor matrix for international goals and the values loading highly on Factor I in the factor matrix for inter-personal values all load highly on a common factor in the factor matrix for combined international goals and inter-personal values, indicating some significant correspondence between the two sets of values and goals; and

4) More correspondence between some inter-personal values and international goals is visible in the rest of the factor matrix represented in Table XVI, but it seems less significant.

The above inferences, however, can not be interpreted much beyond what they exactly say. All the findings of the study can, at the most, be suggestive in view of the limited scope of the same. Only more sophisticated research can lead to further meaningful generalizations.

Attention will now be directed to the item-wise factor analysis of the international goals and inter-personal values to be followed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

ITEM FACTOR ANALYSES OF INTERNATIONAL GOALS AND INTER-PERSONAL VALUES

Following the argument from the previous chapter, and as pointed out earlier in the study, the aim of item factor analysis of international goals and inter-personal values for this study has been to find out if goals and values, as represented by different sets of items, do empirically represent distinct goals and values. If this is the case, various sets of items should ideally load on distinct factors, each representing one single goal or value. If not, this fact would suggest that: 1) either values and goals are not distinctly defined, or 2) the items comprising the same do not always represent the value or goal with which they are theoretically related. Since the ideal is one of distinct sets of items loading highly on distinct factors representing their respective goals and values, it will be of interest to note how the items overlap, and whether these overlaps suggest some new criteria for particular goals and values, or whether clusterings take place in a way indicating that certain values and goals can be lumped together to form a single goal or value or more distinct goals and values. This will be seen through Tables XVII and XVIII.

Table XVII represents factor analysis of the forty items comprising the scales for international goals. By

TABLE XVII

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL GOAL-ITEMS

Varimax Rotation N=52*

Items	Factors							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Cultural								
Development	-0.002	-0.022	-0.066	0.064	(0.657)	0.373	-0.090	0.203
Religiousness	(0.814)	-0.048	0.028	-0.033	0.153	0.057	-0.041	-0.023
Cultural								
Development	(-0.501)	0.336	-0.028	-0.195	0.163	0.356	-0.260	0.143
Nationalism	0.330	-0.328	0.314	0.177	0.036	0.092	0.378	-0.064
Humanitarianism	0.110	0.235	0.152	-0.031	0.003	(0.762)	-0.013	0.085
Power	0.313	(0.657)	0.023	0.160	0.106	-0.027	0.048	-0.083
Pacifism	-0.152	0.051	-0.116	0.191	0.209	-0.082	-0.053	(0.566)
Nationalism	(-0.541)	0.033	0.263	-0.070	0.106	0.063	0.125	-0.078
Pacifism	0.012	-0.421	0.154	0.084	0.306	0.117	0.242	0.486
Religiousness	(0.595)	0.301	0.262	0.080	0.155	-0.053	0.131	0.011
Independence	-0.177	-0.028	-0.089	0.109	0.077	-0.084	-0.018	(-0.598)
Power	0.159	0.048	0.065	(0.682)	0.209	0.201	0.106	0.121
Humanitarianism	0.098	0.063	-0.056	-0.012	-0.000	0.180	(0.666)	0.089
Independence	0.459	-0.296	0.350	-0.012	0.223	0.178	0.255	-0.125
Independence	0.038	(0.710)	0.156	-0.096	0.095	0.129	0.262	0.166
Humanitarianism	-0.082	0.356	0.121	-0.097	0.166	-0.009	(0.586)	0.025
Religiousness	0.301	0.185	0.077	0.107	0.047	-0.057	(0.577)	-0.224
Cultural								
Development	-0.100	-0.099	-0.314	(-0.542)	0.005	0.286	0.081	-0.335

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of .50 shown in parentheses.

TABLE XVII (cont.)

Items	Factors							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Religiousness	(0.777)	0.100	0.224	-0.066	0.031	0.194	0.132	-0.080
Humanitarianism	0.123	-0.057	0.137	0.115	0.111	(0.757)	0.114	0.040
Co-existence	0.114	0.046	0.472	0.411	0.443	0.193	-0.149	0.173
Power	(0.594)	-0.055	0.052	0.232	-0.054	0.429	-0.016	0.002
Religiousness	0.232	0.232	-0.065	0.226	(0.544)	0.127	0.130	0.162
Nationalism	-0.027	0.221	(0.695)	0.361	-0.101	0.233	-0.184	0.160
Humanitarianism	0.194	-0.043	0.144	-0.288	(0.608)	-0.080	-0.143	0.013
Nationalism	0.014	-0.050	(0.782)	0.222	-0.143	0.149	0.060	0.181
Co-existence	0.176	0.083	(0.683)	-0.072	0.213	-0.002	0.227	-0.070
Cultural								
Development	0.088	0.075	-0.169	0.355	0.387	0.126	-0.217	-0.165
Power	0.157	0.282	0.141	(0.808)	0.202	0.065	-0.013	-0.026
Co-existence	-0.146	-0.077	0.103	-0.031	0.195	0.095	(0.549)	(0.500)
Religiousness	0.465	(0.651)	-0.002	0.258	-0.011	0.143	0.122	0.028
Pacifism	0.042	0.287	-0.044	(-0.643)	0.158	0.247	-0.022	0.183
Power	0.062	0.394	0.237	0.147	0.301	0.091	0.049	-0.267
Nationalism	0.181	0.047	0.482	-0.089	-0.088	-0.077	0.066	-0.355
Pacifism	-0.054	0.312	0.082	-0.286	-0.024	(0.523)	0.265	-0.086
Religiousness	(0.789)	0.153	0.164	0.051	0.270	-0.054	-0.028	0.156
Co-existence	-0.316	0.483	-0.014	0.051	-0.002	0.383	0.294	-0.249
Independence	0.149	-0.275	-0.302	0.067	0.189	0.413	0.072	0.000
Religiousness	(0.717)	0.254	-0.018	0.130	-0.046	0.104	0.138	-0.058
Humanitarianism	-0.070	0.041	-0.029	0.158	(0.750)	-0.095	0.154	0.018

relating the high loadings, as placed in parentheses, with the item they represent, it becomes clear that empirically items do not always relate to the goals they theoretically represent. The only goal which distinctly emerges as a result of high loadings of most of the items relating to it on the same factor is Religiousness. In all the other cases, 1) all or most of the items relating to a particular goal do not load highly on the same factor; and 2) usually items relating to one or more different goals are found loading highly on similar factors. To recapitulate the results briefly,* high loadings on Factor I represent five items relating to Religiousness (2, 10, 19, 36, 39), and one item each relating to Cultural Development (3), Nationalism (18), and Power (22). Factor II represents one item relating to Power (6), one to Independence (15), and one to Religiousness (31). Factor III has high loadings for two items relating to Nationalism (24, 26), and one relating to Co-existence (27). Factor IV represents two items relating to Power (12, 29), one relating to Independence (18), and one relating to Pacifism (32). Factor V represents high loadings for one item on Cultural Development (1), one on Religiousness (23), and two on Humanitarianism (25, 40). Factor VI has high loadings for two items on Humanitarianism

*Item numbers are in parentheses.

(5, 20), and one on Pacifism (35). Factor VII has high loadings for two items on Humanitarianism (13, 16), and one on Religiousness (17). The last factor has two high loadings, those for Pacifism (7), and Co-existence (30).

A similar picture is visible with regard to the factor matrix for inter-personal value items (Table XVIII). In this case the two values for which items show distinct high loadings on single factors are Independence (Items 11, 17, 29), represented by Factor III, and Self-Control (Items 5, 9, 28), represented by Factor VIII. The rest of the items relating to different values overlap to a considerable extent, showing high loadings on varying factors. Thus, Factor I represents high loadings for two items relating to Loyalty (10, 25), two for Intellectualism (12, 30), two for Social Skills (19, 32), and one for Status (38). Factor II represents high loadings for five items on Religiousness (4, 8, 22, 27, 36), and two for Loyalty (20, 35). Factor III has already been pointed out as representing exclusively Independence items. Factor IV has high loadings for one item on Intellectualism (1), one on Loyalty (10), one on Status (14), and one on Kindness (34). Factor VI has highly loaded on it two items for Kindness (18, 24), one for Intellectualism (30), and one for Self-Control (39). Factor VII represents one high loading for Kindness (Item 31), and one for Self-Control (37). Factor VIII has already been referred to as representing items exclusively relating to

TABLE XVIII

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF INTER-PERSONAL VALUE-ITEMS

Varimax Rotation N=52*

Items	Factors							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Intellectualism	-0.058	0.106	-0.145	(0.671)	-0.060	0.423	0.150	-0.030
Social Skills	0.106	0.078	-0.001	(0.819)	-0.115	-0.039	-0.031	-0.032
Loyalty	-0.052	0.372	0.073	-0.095	0.337	-0.045	0.058	0.047
Religiousness	0.004	(0.699)	-0.080	0.036	-0.021	-0.082	-0.225	0.047
Self-Control	0.073	0.099	-0.018	-0.060	0.019	-0.114	-0.094	(0.766)
Independence(-)	0.249	-0.046	0.194	-0.035	(0.644)	0.065	0.403	-0.090
Independence(-)	0.086	-0.128	0.455	0.448	0.264	-0.124	0.135	0.082
Religiousness	0.114	(0.848)	-0.030	0.026	-0.051	-0.012	0.162	0.048
Self-Control	-0.028	-0.095	-0.040	-0.061	-0.205	0.263	0.094	0.548
Loyalty	(0.502)	-0.001	-0.017	-0.074	(0.596)	0.154	-0.052	-0.288
Independence	-0.009	0.053	(0.679)	-0.006	0.089	0.021	0.139	0.089
Intellectualism	(0.734)	-0.051	0.102	-0.002	-0.122	0.084	0.031	0.045
Social Skills	0.154	-0.102	-0.392	0.342	0.407	-0.128	-0.079	0.109
Status	-0.009	0.151	0.006	-0.076	(0.731)	0.171	-0.296	-0.088
Self-Control	-0.140	-0.087	0.127	(0.752)	0.091	-0.127	0.207	-0.072
Social Skills	0.383	0.150	0.259	-0.130	-0.084	0.064	0.039	-0.275
Independence	-0.007	0.081	(0.501)	0.260	0.054	0.106	0.402	-0.200
Kindness	-0.064	0.229	0.130	0.289	0.225	(0.623)	-0.003	0.000
Social Skills	(0.757)	-0.030	-0.078	0.031	0.159	-0.319	0.240	0.112
Loyalty	0.031	(0.508)	-0.386	0.282	0.315	0.051	0.008	-0.225

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of .50 shown in parentheses.

TABLE XVIII (cont.)

Items	Factors							
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
Status	-0.187	0.155	(-0.515)	-0.165	0.186	0.208	0.074	0.045
Religiousness	-0.158	(0.704)	0.032	-0.168	0.168	-0.041	-0.029	0.084
Loyalty	-0.337	0.197	-0.331	-0.067	-0.032	0.213	0.383	0.358
Kindness	0.092	0.029	-0.354	-0.087	0.124	(0.524)	0.111	0.446
Loyalty	(0.695)	0.086	0.324	-0.089	0.125	0.131	-0.199	0.001
Status	0.057	0.042	0.277	(0.508)	0.351	0.393	-0.068	0.130
Religiousness	0.243	(0.555)	-0.248	-0.025	-0.153	0.158	0.286	0.027
Self-Control	0.137	0.167	0.488	0.184	0.011	0.094	-0.074	(0.630)
Independence	0.052	-0.253	(0.554)	-0.085	0.084	0.243	0.010	-0.046
Intellectualism	(0.557)	0.189	0.062	0.015	0.197	(0.503)	-0.050	-0.091
Kindness	-0.016	-0.050	0.233	0.019	0.460	-0.013	(0.595)	0.181
Social Skills	(0.712)	-0.035	-0.307	0.061	0.244	-0.282	0.252	0.089
Intellectualism	0.400	-0.016	-0.396	0.220	0.062	0.112	0.489	0.111
Kindness	0.052	0.010	-0.088	0.361	(0.536)	0.044	0.049	0.024
Loyalty	0.334	(0.652)	0.026	0.140	-0.108	0.032	-0.151	-0.048
Religiousness	-0.126	(0.611)	0.053	0.100	0.177	0.489	0.191	-0.056
Intellectualism	-0.002	0.025	0.118	0.147	-0.163	0.029	(0.693)	-0.115
Status	(0.504)	0.292	-0.081	0.162	0.104	0.090	-0.234	0.177
Self-Control	0.011	-0.287	0.033	-0.121	-0.061	(0.731)	0.040	0.134

Self-Control.

Discussion

This breakup of the results indicates that in the case of both international goals and inter-personal values with the exception of some cases in which items relating to a single goal or value are highly loaded on exclusive factors, either various items do not define their respective goals and values or values and goals overlap among themselves conceptually, so that items relating to them overlap likewise. Since the fact that items do not define their respective goals and values is dependent on whether the goals and values are themselves considerably distinctly conceptualized, it is intended to take up some further analysis of the data with regard to the latter. For this purpose, for each factor in both the scales items with high loadings on the factor will be shown in subsequent tables along with the specific loading and the corresponding statement from the questionnaire which was represented by the particular items, so that it can be seen if the verbal structure of the overlapping items contribute in any way toward the understanding of the existing factor clusterings. In other words, it is expected that through observation and interpretation of the verbal structures of the items loading highly on various factors, it would be possible to determine:

- 1) if the overlapping of items is occasional and possibly

due to their proximity of meaning with other items with which they cluster or quite frequent pointing toward lack of enough empirical distinction between values or goals among themselves, and 2) in case significant empirical distinction is found to be missing with regard to certain values and goals among themselves, if any new and meaningful goals or values emerge in the form of factor-clusters.

Factor tables will now be considered separately for international goals and inter-personal value items. Discussion will not be confined to loadings equal to or greater than the value of .50 but lower loadings will be taken into account for clarifying interpretation.

First, tables representing factor-wise presentation of high loadings and their corresponding goal operationalizations for international goal scales for the present study will be presented and discussed, followed by corresponding tables for inter-personal values and their discussion. Table XIX in this chapter gives Factor I and its high loadings for international goal items. This factor at the outset appears to be the easiest to interpret with fairly high loadings for items quite clearly pertaining to Religiousness. The three other items -- 3, 8, and 22 -- not clearly Religious items can also be explained within this context. Thus Item 22 is so structured verbally that "imitation of our way of life" can easily be taken to imply "our religious way of

TABLE XIX

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR I

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.814	2	Abiding by Shariah and Sunnah in our dealings with other nations.
.789	36	Seeking in the Quran for the direction of our foreign policies.
.777	19	Showing our devotion to religious principles.
.594	22	Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life.
.717	39	Always putting religious interests ahead of all social, economic, and political needs and formulate foreign policies accordingly.
.595	10	Praying for Allah's guidance in our international policies.
-.501	3	Participating in world-wide cultural development programs.
-.541	8	Considering ourselves as Pakistanis first and Moslems second.

life". Item 3 (Participating in world-wide cultural development programs) represents traditional Pakistani religious enthusiasts' attitude toward cultural aspects of life as representing something worldly, and therefore to be condemned; and Item 8 (Considering ourselves as Pakistanis first and Moslems second) refers to the importance of religion versus nationalism. This factor, then, can be legitimately termed a Religious factor operating at the international level.

On the other hand, Factor II in Table XX appears at first sight to be very difficult to interpret. The items with high loadings appear to be quite different from each other, and as a matter of fact represent all the eight goals used in the scales for the present study. Close observation, however, helps to create some sense, and finally gives a picture somewhat like this: although a number of goals combine to load on this factor, together they seem to imply a view of the international community in which Pakistan is seen as promoting ideals of peace, co-existence and humanitarianism. Items pertaining to power can be explained by the fact that leadership, probably, is sought as a justifiable goal in view of the faith in the ultimate ideals, so that Pakistan is expected to be seen as leading other nations to follow these ideals. Looking at the table now it can be seen that Items 15 (Staying neutral between

TABLE XX

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR II

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.710	15	Staying neutral between fights with other nations.
.657	6	Trying to make Pakistan the leader of the Moslem world.
.651	31	Teaching all nations to believe in the sovereignty of God.
.483	37	Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies.
-.421	9	Not letting other nations goad us into war.
.394	33	Trying to make Pakistan the leader of Afro-Asian countries.
.356	16	Being helpful to nations even if they are against us.
.336	3	Participating in world-wide cultural development programs.
-.328	4	Putting the interests of our nation first in all international negotiations.
.312	35	Never going to war with any nation.
.301	10	Praying for Allah's guidance in our international policies.

fighting with other nations) and 35 (Never going to war with any nation) point to avoidance of war; Items 37 (Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies) and 4 ([Not] putting the interests of our nation first in all international negotiations) indicate a desire for co-existence; and Items 16 (Being helpful to nations even if they are against us) and 3 (Participating in world-wide cultural development programs) imply humanitarian and cultural development ideals. Item 10 on religion (Praying for Allah's guidance in our international policies) seems to be less religious than emphasising the international part of it. Item 9 (Not letting other nations goad us into war) is unexplainable as it is allowing Pakistan to be goaded into war. Power Items 6 and 33 have already been discussed. On the whole it can be said that the factor appears to be representing a positive world image, something which on the whole can be referred to in Scott's terms as "international co-operativeness". Perhaps this factor is a manifestation of this ideological orientation.

Factor III (Table XXI) quite clearly seems to represent a nationalistic orientation in which co-existence is emphasised rather than aggression or competitiveness. Thus Items 26 (Working to advance our national interests in world affairs), 24 (Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of Pakistan), and 34 (Consider ourselves as

TABLE XXI

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR III

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.782	26	Working to advance our national interests in world affairs.
.695	24	Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of Pakistan.
.683	27	Adopting a policy of peaceful co-existence toward all nations.
.482	34	Consider ourselves as Pakistanis first and internationalists second.
.472	21	Trying to get other nations to like us.

TABLE XXII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR IV

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.808	29	Developing our leadership potential, so that other nations will want to follow us.
.682	12	Striving to achieve a position of power in the international community.
-.643	32	Supporting complete disarmament of all nations including our own.
-.542	18	Trying to concentrate on cultural development rather than worrying about security measures for national defense.
.411	21	Trying to get other nations to like us.
.361	24	Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of Pakistan.

Pakistanis first and internationalists second) emphasise nationalism, while Item 27 (Adopting a policy of peaceful co-existence toward all nations), and 21 (Trying to get other nations to like us) indicate co-existence. This factor can probably be referred to as "Co-operative Nationalism".

Factor IV (Table XXII) appears to be representing a considerable contrast to Factor III. The high loadings on this factor convey an aspect of nationalism in which competitiveness is emphasised rather than co-operativeness. Thus Items 24 (Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of Pakistan), 29 (Developing our leadership potential so that other nations would want to follow us), and 12 (Striving to achieve a position of power in the international community) point to the above stated attitude, while Items 32 and 18 support them as both disarmament and cultural development are de-emphasised in these loadings. Instead security measures for national defense are emphasised in Item 18 as against Cultural Development (Trying to concentrate on cultural development rather than worrying about security measures for national defense). Hence this factor can be said to represent "Competitive Nationalism".

Factor V (Table XXIII) has high loadings for items pertaining to Humanitarianism (40 and 25), Cultural Development (1 and 28), and Co-existence (23 and 21). Thus this

TABLE XXIII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR V

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.750	40	Trying to help nations with worse social and economic conditions.
.657	1	Participating in education development programs all over the world.
.608	25	Being helpful to all countries who are friendly with us.
.544	23	Opening conferences with other nations with a prayer for their successful outcome.
.443	21	Trying to get other nations to like us.
.387	28	Putting our emphasis on basic research, to increase man's understanding of the universe.

factor, like Factor II, can also be said to be a manifestation of international co-operativeness, in Scott's terminology. However, it should be noted that although on the whole the underlying ideology for the two factors might be considered to be broadly the same, they represent varying degrees of it. Thus the two factors have different items as high loadings, different numbers of them, and different numbers of goals being represented by them, e.g., in Factor II, Humanitarianism has been represented by "Being helpful to nations even if they are against us", while in the present factor it has been represented by two items, "Trying to help nations with worse social and economic conditions" and "Being helpful to all countries who are friendly with us", also showing a difference in the degree to which humanitarianism is seen as justifiably practiced in the two cases. Similarly, Cultural Development in Factor II has taken this form: "Participating in world-wide cultural development programs", while in the present factor it is expressed in these two items: "Participating in education development programs all over the world", and "Putting our emphasis on basic research, to increase man's understanding of the universe". Again, the two different aspects of Cultural Development in the two factors are noticeable: while the former refers to general "cultural development programs", the latter emphasises distinctly the educational aspect of it. In the same way Co-existence items also differ in the two factors. Pacifism, Power, and Religiousness items are missing altogether from

the present factor. Keeping in view these variations, it can be concluded that while Factor II represents a co-operative attitude combined with some kind of Nationalistic-cum-Power orientation, the present factor is more idealistically oriented, and closer to a co-operative than assertive attitude. For the time being, this factor can be labelled as "International Co-operativeness #2".

Factor VI (Table XXIV) seems to be difficult to interpret. In this, Humanitarianism, Pacifism, and Co-existence are emphasised strongly through items with emphatic phrases like "Going out of our way to participate in all programs of improving the conditions of the world" (Humanitarianism, 5, 20), "Never going to war with any nation" (Pacifism, 35), and "Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies" (Co-existence, 37). At the same time Independence has been cherished as a goal (Not being bullied by super powers in our relations with other nations, 38), and a faith in own "way of life" is apparent from "Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life" (22). On the whole it seems to represent another degree of "International Co-operativeness" combined with some self assertive attitudes. For the time being, then, this factor can be referred to as "International Co-operativeness #3".

Factor VII is another interesting manifestation of co-operative ideology. Thus Humanitarianism and Co-existence

TABLE XXIV

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VI

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.762	5*	Going out of our way to participate in all programs of improving the conditions of the world.
.757	20	
.523	35	Never going to war with any nation.
.429	22	Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life.
.413	38	Not being bullied by super powers in our relations with other nations.
.383	37	Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies.

*The item was repeated in the questionnaire.

TABLE XXV

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VII

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.666	13	Helping India by sending food supplies to famine-stricken areas therein.
.586	16	Being helpful to nations even if they are against us.
.577	17	Enhancing friendly relations with all Moslem countries irrespective of conflicting social and political aims.
.549	30	Trying to be friendly toward all countries, even if we don't like their policies.

are emphasised to a degree in which political and ideological differences are surpassed by humanitarian and co-existence ideals. Thus Item 13 (Helping India by sending food supplies to famine-stricken areas therein), and 16 (Being helpful to nations even if they are against us) point to what can be termed extreme Humanitarianism, while Items 17 (Enhancing friendly relations with all Moslem countries irrespective of conflicting social and political aims) and 30 (Trying to be friendly toward all countries, even if we don't like their policies) refer to an emphatic expression of co-existence. It should be noted that Item 17 conceptually belongs to the international goal of Religiousness, but its verbal structure seems to emphasise its latter part more than the first word, hence its significance as a high loading on the present factor. In brief, this factor can be termed on the preceding pattern as "International Co-operativeness #4".

Factor VIII seems to be a peaceful co-existence factor. Thus Items 11 ([not] taking care of our own problems, without depending on others), 30 (Trying to be friendly toward all countries even if we don't like their policies) and 34 ([not] consider ourselves as Pakistanis first and internationalists second) point toward Co-existence, while Items 7 (Avoid hasty intemperate acts toward other nations), and 9 (Not letting other nations goad us into war) indicate a

TABLE XXVI

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VIII

International Goals

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
-.598	11	Taking care of our own problems, without depending on others.
.566	7	Avoiding hasty intemperate acts toward other nations.
.500	30	Trying to be friendly toward all countries, even if we don't like their policies.
.486	9	Not letting other nations goad us into war.
-.355	34	Consider ourselves as Pakistanis first and internationalists second.

TABLE XXVII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR I

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.757	19	Being wellmannered and behaving properly in social situations.
.734	12	Developing an appreciation of the fine arts, music, drama, literature, and ballet.
.712	32	Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion.
.695	25	Doing all one can to build the prestige of the organization.
.557	30	Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.
.504	38	Gaining recognition for one's achievements.
.502	10	Helping organize group activities.

peaceful orientation. This factor, therefore, can be called a Peaceful Co-existence factor.

It can be concluded from the preceding discussion about item-wise factor analyses of the international goals that although the eight factors which were extracted do not ideally correspond to the eight international goals as conceptualized for the present study, in terms of high loadings, they do indicate some significant findings. First, high loadings on factors (except for Religiousness) have been suggestive of underlying ideologies on the pattern of Scott's correlational findings. Thus items pertaining to goals which cluster together in Scott's results as expressing "co-operativeness" and those expressing "competitiveness" in his terms, seem to make clusteral manifestation on different factors in the present analyses too. This fact was also noticed in goal-value factor analyses as discussed in the previous chapter, but what makes the present analyses more interesting is the fact that high loadings on different factors indicate varying degrees of manifestation of these ideologies. Thus there is a manifestation of Co-operativeness with some colouring of assertive Nationalism (Factor II), Co-operativeness with no Nationalism and emphasis on different degrees and aspects of Humanitarianism, Cultural Development, and Co-existence (Factor V), emphatic Co-operativeness combined with Independence-cum-Power attitude (Factor VI) and so on. It

can therefore be said that international goal items overlap so that goals are not perceived as distinct entities but to some extent tend to cluster together following some kind of underlying ideological pattern, which makes itself manifest in varying degrees in the form of different factors. Secondly, in at least three cases, clusterings of items indicate emergence of distinct new international goals. Thus Factors III and IV point to "co-operative" and "competitive" Nationalism respectively, while Factor VIII has been termed as "Peaceful Co-existence factor". These three factors represent new international goal dimensions which can be helpful in further research.

Subsequent tables now represent items with high loadings on various factors for inter-personal values. Each factor will be considered and discussed separately.

Factor I, as given in Table XXVII, appears to be difficult to interpret at the outset, as it represents a combination of values such as social skills, intellectualism, loyalty to group, and self-assertive social involvement. Thus Item 19 (Being well mannered and behaving properly in social situations), and 32 (Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion) refer to Social Skills; Items 12 (Developing an appreciation of the fine arts, music, drama, literature, and ballet) and 30 (Having a keen interest in international, national and local affairs) are

indicative of Intellectualism; Items 25 (Doing all one can to build up the prestige of the organization) and 10 (Helping organize group activities) show Loyalty, and Item 30 (Gaining recognition for one's achievements) refers to Status. On the whole, it seems to imply an intellectually oriented view of fine social life in which both group and self have an important place, and can briefly be referred to as a positive social image factor. Interestingly, this factor, to some extent, represents a value orientation at an inter-personal level corresponding closely to the goal orientation at the international level as represented by Factor II in Table XX. It can be remembered that Factor II in Table XX was noted as pointing toward a "positive world image" and named "International Co-operativeness", using Scott's terminology.

Factor II (Table XXVIII) appears to be a predominantly religious factor combined with a sense of loyalty to group. The latter has been apparent from the Items 35 (Working hard to improve the prestige and status of one's group), 20 (Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself), and 3 (Defending the honour of one's house whenever it is unfairly criticized). These items from the nature of their wording can also be interpreted as pointing to some kind of conventionalism or an authoritarian attitude, thus lending the factor a conventional-

TABLE XXVIII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR II

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.848	8	Always offering prayers regularly and faithfully.
.704	22	Always living one's religion in one's life.
.699	4	Being devout in one's religious faith.
.652	35	Working hard to improve the prestige and status of one's group.
.611	36	Avoiding the physical pleasures that are prohibited in the Quran.
.555	27	Encouraging others to offer prayers regularly and lead religious lives.
.508	20	Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself.
.372	3	Defending the honor of one's house whenever it is unfairly criticized.

religious orientation. On the whole, the factor can be termed conventional-religiousness factor.

Factor III (Table XXIX) represents quite an interesting example. The items loading highly on this factor refer to an Independence orientation, in such a way that although harmony with others is emphasised, any kind of social sophistication and strictly in-group attitude depicting authoritarianism is rejected. Thus while Items 11, 29, and 17 (Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes; Being independent, original and non-conformist; and Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise) emphasise Independence, Item 7 (Working and living in harmony with other people) favors harmony. On the other hand, the negative nature of loadings on Items 33 (Being an intellectual), 13 (Being poised, gracious and charming under all circumstances), and 32 (Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion) point to defiance of sophistication in social life and Items 20 (Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself), 23 (Concealing most of one's dislikes and disagreements with fellow members of the organization), and 25 (Doing all we can to build up the prestige of the organization) refer to anti-authoritarianism.

In some respects, this factor can be said to provide a contrast to Factor I in Table XXVII, as the latter

TABLE XXIX

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR III

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.679	11	Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.
.554	29	Being independent, original, non-conformist, different from other people.
-.515	21	Being in a position to direct and influence other's lives.
.501	17	Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise.
.488	28	Replying to anger with gentleness.
.455	7	Working and living in harmony with other people.
-.396	33	Being an intellectual.
-.392	13	Being poised, gracious and charming in all circumstances.
-.386	20	Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself.
-.354	24	Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you.
-.331	23	Concealing most of one's dislikes and disagreements with fellow members of the organization.
-.324	25	Doing all one can to build up the prestige of the organization.
-.307	32	Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion.

emphasised a positive social image, while the present factor defies social skills and conventionalism and upholds independence. On the international level, such an attitude might have correspondence in something like "internationalism" or "world-mindedness", but none of these were posited as international goals for the present study. For the present purposes the factor may be named "Social Radicalism".

Items loading highly on Factor IV again represent a variety of values. Thus Social Skills (Being able to get along with all kinds of people, 2), Self-Control (Practicing self-control, 15), Intellectualism (Having a strong intellectual curiosity, 1), Status (Showing great leadership qualities, 26), Harmony (Working and living in harmony with other people, 7), and Kindness (Helping another achieve his own goals, even if it might interfere with your own, 34) all seem to cluster together on this factor. On the whole it represents a situation like Factor I in Table XXVII for personal value, but while in Factor I in Table XXVII, the emphasis was on social image, in this factor personal strength is more apparent. It probably can be termed a Self-Perfection factor.

Factor V (Table XXXI) represents a cluster of values of Kindness (Items 34, 31), Status (14, 10, 26) and Social Skills (13). However, in this factor Kindness and Status are emphasised more than Social Skills. It seems that as was

TABLE XXX

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR IV

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.819	2	Being able to get along with all kinds of people.
.752	15	Practicing self-control.
.671	1	Having a strong intellectual curiosity.
.508	26	Showing great leadership qualities.
.448	7	Working and living in harmony with other people.
.361	34	Helping another achieve his own goals, even if it might interfere with your own.

TABLE XXXI

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR V

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.731	14	Having the ability to lead others.
.644	6	Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of one.
.596	10	Helping organize group activities.
.536	34	Helping another achieve his own goals, even if it might interfere with your own.
.460	31	Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like him.
.407	13	Being poised, gracious, and charming under all circumstances.
.351	26	Showing great leadership qualities.

noticed with regard to international goals, in the case of inter-personal values also, a cluster of values seems to be making appearance in the form of different factors so that in each case a different aspect of the cluster, or a different level of intensity for it, is emphasised.

Factor VI (Table XXXII) is a cluster of the values of Self-Control (Items 39, 36), Kindness (18, 24), and Intellectualism (30, 1), in which Self-Control and Kindness are quite strongly emphasised. Thus the wording of Items 39 (Not expressing anger even when you have a reason for doing so), 18 (Being kind to people even if they do things contrary to one's beliefs), 24 (Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you), and 36 (Avoiding the physical pleasures that are prohibited in the Quran) show the emphasis on the said values. Broadly speaking, this factor resembles Factor VII in Table XXV of international goal items analysis, in which political and ideological differences were shown to be surpassed by Humanitarian and Co-existence ideals.

Factor VII represents another cluster of values in which Intellectualism (Items 37, 33), Kindness (31), Independence (6 [reversal], 17) and Loyalty (23) have grouped together so that, unlike in Factors IV, V, and VI, in the case of this factor a self-perfection attitude has been combined with an independence-oriented authoritarian attitude.

TABLE XXXII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VI

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.731	39	Not expressing anger, even when you have a reason for doing so.
.623	18	Being kind to people even if they do things contrary to one's beliefs.
.524	24	Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you.
.503	30	Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.
.489	36	Avoiding the physical pleasures that are prohibited in the Quran.
.423	1	Having a strong intellectual curiosity.

TABLE XXXIII

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VII

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.693	37	Having an active interest in all things scholarly.
.595	31	Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like him.
.489	33	Being an intellectual.
.403	6	Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of one.
.402	17	Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise.
.383	23	Concealing most of one's dislikes and disagreements with fellow members of the organization.

TABLE XXXIV

ITEMS AS HIGH LOADINGS FOR FACTOR VIII

Inter-Personal Values

<u>Loading</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Item</u>
.766	5	Always being patient with people.
.630	28	Replying to anger with gentleness.
.548	9	Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.
.446	24	Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you.

Thus items like "Having an active interest in all things scholarly", "Being an intellectual", and "Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like him", have loaded on the factor with other items like "Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise", and "Concealing most of one's dislikes and disagreements with fellow members of the organization". Interestingly again, this factor broadly corresponds to Factor VI in Table XXIV of international goal items, in which Pacifism and Humanitarianism had combined with Power and Independence.

Factor VIII seems to be a Kindness-cum-Self-Control factor in which Self-Control is considerably emphasised. Thus Item 5 (Always being patient with people), 28 (Replying to anger with gentleness), and 9 (Never losing one's temper no matter what the reason) point toward the latter, while Item 24 (Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you) refers to Kindness. This factor can be termed a Self-Control factor due to the predominance of Self-Control items in it.

It can be concluded from the preceding discussion, then, that as was noted in the case of item factor analysis of international goals, in the case of item factor analysis of inter-personal values also, distinct factors do not represent distinct values, but clusters of values appear as

factors so that varying aspects of the clusters are emphasised in varying degrees in different factors. Moreover, while in the case of international goal items, two distinct underlying ideological orientations were noted, this has not been the case with the inter-personal values, where all the eight values have more freely overlapped. An interesting finding, however, has been the discovery of clusters of values loading highly on single factors closely resembling clusters of goals represented by certain single factors, indicating the possibility of more general orientational value-goal correspondence existing at the inter-personal and international level on the pattern discovered in the previous chapter where a number of values had appeared on the same factor with a number of goals, which in separate value-goal analysis were represented by single factors. It should be remembered that it was pointed out at that time that the group of values which were found corresponding to the group of international goals as a whole, named Assertive Nationalism in view of their peculiar clustering in the international goals factor analysis, might on further analysis show a corresponding assertive group-oriented attitude at the inter-personal level. This has been confirmed by the present item factor analysis of the inter-personal values in which the value-items loading highly on Factor I as shown in Table XXVII represent the same group of values which loaded highly with Assertive Nationalism goals on Factor I in Table XIV,

and do actually point to an assertive group-oriented attitude, which in final analysis was termed as "positive social image factor". The appearance of more factors in both international goals and inter-personal values item factor analyses with resembling general orientations, seems to be an interesting finding. But more thorough research and analysis is required for more definite results in this regard, not possible within the present scope. However, it can be stated here that although pair-wise value-goal correspondence was not established in the case of the present study, either through correlational analysis of results or through value-goal factor analysis, some correspondence has been seen to exist at the two levels in group-form in at least one case, and being suggested for some other. This finding is even suggestive of the fact that perhaps some more research and rigorous work might help in developing these resembling value-goal factors into such distinct values and goals that they might be helpful in further research with regard to pair-wise value-goal correspondence. However, at this stage these are merely suggestions and hypotheses.

In brief it can be concluded from the item-wise factor analysis of the international goals and inter-personal values that goals and values do not represent distinct units in themselves, but items pertaining to them overlap, so that in the case of international goals, their clustering

follows an ideological pattern of co-operativeness and competitiveness, with different factors manifesting different aspects and levels of intensity of each, while in the case of inter-personal values, the items overlap more generally without emphasis on any particular ideological pattern, showing the prevalence of a general conceptual confusion with regard to the inter-personal values, but again finding manifestation in different factors with emphasis on different levels of intensity. Moreover, the appearance of factors with high-loading items pertaining to closely resembling general orientations with regard to inter-personal values and international goals have been suggestive of the fact that some kind of general orientational correspondence does exist at the two levels, or in other words, the item factor analyses of the inter-personal values, and international goals has given rise to new and more distinct values and goals, which might be helpful in further research with regard to value-goal correspondence at the two levels.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study aimed at an understanding of Pakistani students' attitudes toward international relations. The findings of the study can be summed up as follows:

First, no significant correspondence seemed to exist between the present respondents' views of ideal relations among nations, as envisaged through foreign policy goals, and their values concerning inter-personal relations. However, a general attitudinal orientation seemed to prevail correspondingly at international and inter-personal levels, which was detected through factor analysis of the data. Thus a set of inter-personal values, and a set of interrelated international goals were found to be loading highly on the same factor, in the goal-value factor analysis, and some factors were found to be closely resembling in their general orientations with regard to international goals, and inter-personal values discovered through item factor analyses of the data.

Secondly, while the inter-personal values were not generally empirically distinguished, international goals were considerably distinctly perceived by the respondents. A close observation of the subjects' responses with regard to the latter led to the conclusion that peculiar national circumstances contributed partly to the response patterns.

Thus confirming some earlier speculations regarding the same, the results showed that Independence and Nationalism were the most highly cherished international goals for these respondents. Cultural Development, Co-existence, and Religiousness were next on the continuum, while Power represented the least favored goal. Breakup of responses for the goal of Religiousness showed that more respondents had favored the same, than had abstained or reacted otherwise, reflecting the specific role played by Religion in the ideology and politics of Pakistan.

An examination of statements representing exceptional, highly disfavored inter-personal value-items showed that they either involved religious teachings, or prominent social taboos, or some other extra-sensitive social norm issues.

Third, the item factor analysis of the international goals and inter-personal values showed that international goal-items clustered on factors somewhat following Scott's competitive and co-operative ideological orientation, while inter-personal value-items were more generally confused.

The above findings provided a considerable contrast to the results shown in Scott's study of International Ideology and Inter-personal Ideology, which was replicated

here. According to Scott's results, significant correspondence was established between most value-goal pairs, and his finding that international goals were conceptually contaminated with inter-personal values, while the reverse was not true, further led to the support of the directional nature of his hypothesis that international goals tended to represent generalizations of inter-personal values. A two-way ideological pattern was also discovered by Scott in his intercorrelation matrix for international goals, but no corresponding pattern was found in the intercorrelations of inter-personal values by him.

The differences in the findings of the two studies were traced partly to some inherent weaknesses of Scott's original scales and the differences in socio-cultural background of the respondents for the two studies.

It was therefore suggested that minor alterations with regard to certain aspects of Scott's scales might be helpful in eliciting more definite responses from the subjects, especially if the scales were to be used for purposes of cross-national research. Also more careful adaptations were recommended while adapting the scales for respondents of varying backgrounds. Further comparisons based on factor analytic or other replication of Scott's study can be recommended to clarify further the utility and validity of such measurement procedures in the study of international

attitudes.

From the international behavior point of view the study has been relevant in at least two ways. First, it has been an exploration of individual value systems as they may operate at international level. This exploration further led to some significant findings with regard to Pakistani students' attitudes toward certain specific international goals. Secondly, the study provided a cross-cultural dimension to the problem, originally explored with reference to North American subjects. The study has also been important from the point of view of providing insights into international attitudes of a group of respondents who are most likely to form the educational elite group of a developing nation. This aspect of international behavior studies has been emphasised by Kelman with reference to studies regarding "influential public opinion".¹

This brings us to some aspects of the study not mentioned or discussed hitherto, e.g., no attempt was made to relate background personal information about the respondents with the various response patterns which emerged. First, mainly because this was not within the immediate concerns of the present study, and secondly, limited scope

¹Kelman, op. cit., p. 581.

and time for the study did not allow for any definite attempts regarding the same, although it was recognized that some specific value or goal orientations might show significant correlations with different socio-economic or regional background factors. Moreover, in the case of the present sample, a general look at the background information about the respondents suggested that they represented a more homogeneous than heterogeneous group in terms of ethnic, socio-economic, professional, and educational background, which limited the explorational scope of the present study within itself. However, comparisons of such relationships among variables as might possibly exist in the case of the present sample, with those of samples of different ethnic, socio-economic, and educational backgrounds, might result in revealing findings. Also, another possible direction for further research can be comparative studies of samples representing students still in the home country and those abroad. This would provide insights in terms of the effects of cross-cultural contacts on certain attitudinal structures. Probably for a sample representing students at home, some international goals would not represent as specified connotations as they did in the case of present respondents, and might tend to be seen more in terms of inter-personal values. Or possibly the reverse might be true. But these are only speculations and represent dimensions for further exploration and research.

Even the limited comparative nature of the present study has led to some interesting observations with regard to variations in specific value-goal orientations of American and Pakistani students. More research in this area is bound to bring much more interesting and useful results.

APPENDIX A

CONCEPTUAL DEFINITIONS OF INTER-PERSONAL VALUES AND THEIR CORRESPONDING INTERNATIONAL GOALS AS SET FORTH BY SCOTT*

1. a. Personal value: Self-control. A person acts toward others with restraint of aggressive impulses.
b. International goal: Pacifism. A nation acts toward others with restraint of aggressive impulses.
2. a. Personal value: Intellectualism. A person aims at self-development by participating in the intellectual aspects of his culture.
b. International goal: Cultural development. A nation aims at elevating the level of its own cultural contributions and aiding similar efforts by other nations.
3. a. Personal value: Kindness to people. A person's relations with others are based on a genuine concern for their welfare, rather than his own.
b. International goal: Humanitarianism. A nation's relations with others are based on a concern for the welfare of the others, rather than on a concern for its own benefit from the relationship.
4. a. Personal value: Social skills. A person's principal aim vis-a-vis others is to get along with them and get them to like him. (This is essentially an ego-oriented goal, in contrast with that of kindness, which is predominantly altruistic.)
b. International goal: Coexistence. A nation's principal aim is to get along amicably with other nations in the world and be regarded favorably by them.
5. a. Personal value: Religiousness. A person is devoutly religious in the traditional sense.

*Scott, pp. 421-422.

- b. International goal: Religiousness. A nation displays its religious devotion in international relations.
- 6. a. Personal value: Independence. An individual thinks and acts as he pleases, not heeding normative pressures from others.
- b. International goal: Independence. A nation conducts its foreign policy as it alone deems best, without dependence on others or concern for their wishes.
- 7. a. Personal value: Status. A person directs his actions toward the dominant goal of gaining the respect of other people.
- b. International goal: Power. A nation conducts its foreign policy with the dominant aim of gaining the respect and deference of other nations.
- 8. a. Personal value: Loyalty. A person draws a clear, impermeable boundary between members and nonmembers of his primary group, and acts so as to benefit the in-group at the expense of the out-group.
- b. International goal: Nationalism. A nation makes a clear distinction between what is native and what is foreign, striving to enhance the former and deprecate the latter.

APPENDIX B

SCOTT'S SCALES OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND SCALES OF PERSONAL VALUES*

Introduction to Foreign Policy Statements:

Following is a list of statements that have been made on the subject of what should be the goals of U.S. foreign policy. You may find some of them agreeable, some not. Please put a check in the appropriate column, according to whether you think it should be a goal of U.S. foreign policy, should not be a goal, or depends on the situation whether or not it should be a goal of U.S. foreign policy.

Should Be a Goal	Depends	Should Not Be a Goal
_____	_____	_____

Introduction to Personal Value Statements:

Please read over the following statements, and for each one indicate (by a check in the appropriate space) whether it is something you always admire in other people, or something you always dislike, or something that depends on the situation whether you admire it or not.

Always Admire	Depends on Situation	Always Dislike
_____	_____	_____

(Foreign policy items were administered first, in the order indicated by the IBM card column numbers listed below. Then, after some intervening questions, the personal value items appeared, in the order indicated. Here the corresponding scales appear together and, within each, items are arranged approximately in order of difficulty, from easy to hard. All items were scored dichotomously, with checks in the second and third columns not distinguished.)

*Scott, pp. 423-426.

IBM
Column

Item

1. a. Self-control (Personal Value)

- 41 Practicing self-control.
- 26 Always being patient with people.
- 60 Replying to anger with gentleness.
- 33 Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.
- 79 Not expressing anger, even when you have reason for doing so.

b. Pacifism (Foreign Policy)

- 35 Avoiding hasty, intemperate acts toward other nations.
- 38 Not letting other nations goad us into war.
- 68 Aiming at complete disarmament of all nations, including our own.
- 72 Promising not to use the most destructive weapons, like the hydrogen bomb, in wars.

2. a. Intellectualism (Personal Value)

- 62 Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.
- 18 Having a strong intellectual curiosity.
- 36 Developing an appreciation of the fine arts -- music, drama, literature, and ballet.
- 75 Having an active interest in all things scholarly.
- 67 Being an intellectual.

b. Cultural Development (Foreign Policy)

- 27 Working to raise the level of education all over the world.
- 30 Trying to encourage world-wide cultural development.
- 63 Putting our emphasis on basic research, to increase man's understanding of the universe.
- 51 Concentrating on cultural achievement, rather than putting so much into national defense.

3. a. Kindness to People (Personal Value)

- 45 Being kind to people, even if they do things contrary to one's beliefs.
- 63 Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like him.
- 68 Helping another achieve his own goals, even if it might interfere with your own.

- 54 Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you.

b. Humanitarianism (Foreign Policy)

- 77 Helping underdeveloped countries to advance.
- 44 Working to rehabilitate conquered nations after a war.
- 60 Extending a helping hand to all countries that are friendly toward us.
- 50 Helping to improve living conditions in nations, even if they are against us.
- 32 Going out of our way to lend a helping hand to all countries.
- 53 Trying to raise the status of other nations, even though it hurts our own position.

4. a. Social Skills (Personal Value)

- 46 Being well mannered and behaving properly in social situations.
- 64 Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion.
- 69 Being able to get people to cooperate with you.
- 20 Being able to get along with all kinds of people, whether or not they are worthwhile.
- 38 Being poised, gracious, and charming under all circumstances.
- 42 Being the person in the house who is the most popular with the opposite sex.

b. Coexistence (Foreign Policy)

- 62 Adopting a policy of peaceful coexistence toward all nations.
- 55 Trying to get other nations to like us.
- 66 Trying to be friendly toward all countries, even if we don't like their policies.
- 74 Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies.

5. a. Religiousness (Personal Value)

- 25 Being devout in one's religious faith.
- 50 Always living one's religion in his daily life.
- 32 Always attending church regularly and faithfully.
- 74 Avoiding the physical pleasures that are prohibited in the Bible.
- 59 Encouraging others to attend church and lead religious lives.

b. Religiousness (Foreign Policy)

- 28 Abiding by the laws of God in our dealings with other nations.
- 40 Praying for divine guidance in our international policies.
- 58 Opening international conferences with a prayer for their successful outcome.
- 52 Showing our devotion to religious principles in the conduct of foreign affairs.
- 67 Teaching all nations to follow religious principles.
- 73 Seeking in the Bible for direction of our foreign policies.

6. a. Independence (Personal Value)

- 27 (Reverse) Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of one.
- 35 Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.
- 44 Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise.
- 61 Being independent, original, nonconformist, different from other people.
- 28 (Reverse) Working and living in harmony with other people.

b. Independence (Foreign Policy)

- 45 Doing what we know is right, even if others object.
- 75 Doing what we feel is right, in world affairs, regardless of what others think.
- 42 Taking care of our own problems, without depending on others.
- 48 Staying neutral in fights between other nations.

7. a. Status (Personal Value)

- 23 Being respected by people who are themselves worthwhile.
- 57 Showing great leadership qualities.
- 40 Having the ability to lead others.
- 76 Gaining recognition for one's achievements.
- 49 Being in a position to direct and mold others' lives.

b. Power (Foreign Policy)

- 65 Developing our leadership potential in this country, so that other nations will want to follow.

- 43 Striving to maintain this country's position of power among nations.
- 70 Being able to get other nations to cooperate with our foreign policies.
- 34 Keeping the United States the leader of the world.
- 57 Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life.

8. a. Loyalty (Personal Value)

- 21 Defending the honor of one's house whenever it is unfairly criticized.
- 70 Working hard to improve the prestige and status of one's group.
- 34 Helping organize group activities.
- 55 Doing all one can to build up the prestige of the organization.
- 47 Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself.
- 51 Concealing most of one's dislikes or disagreements with fellow members of the organization.

b. Nationalism (Foreign Policy)

- 61 Working to advance our national interests in world affairs.
- 59 Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of the United States.
- 71 Considering ourselves as Americans first, internationalists second.
- 31 Putting the interests of this nation first in all international negotiations.
- 37 Treating any slanderous attack on our institutions as a threat to the country.

APPENDIX C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE AS IT WAS PRESENTED TO THE PAKISTANI RESPONDENTS*

The present questionnaire is part of a research undertaking aimed at attitudes concerning international relations. Your co-operation is extremely important. Please read carefully the instructions before each section, and put down your responses accordingly. If you wish to inquire about some things do so before beginning or save them for after you finish. It is desirable to work without interruptions, and as rapidly as possible.

Please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire, as it is meant to be strictly anonymous.

Also do not hesitate to express your true opinions. Your responses are completely confidential and anonymous.

Thank you.

*Scales, not relevant to the present study, which comprised Parts II and III of this questionnaire, are not included here.

The following background information about you as an individual is required for some analytical purposes.

Please answer the questions accurately by writing in the appropriate answer or putting a check [] in the space provided.

1. What is your country of citizenship? _____
2. What is your country of origin? _____
3. What is your sex? _____
4. What is your age in years? _____
5. How long have you been in Canada? _____
6. Your status in Canada: [check one] _____ student
_____ landed immigrant _____ Canadian citizen
7. Did you travel abroad before coming to Canada? _____
If so:
Where? _____ When? _____
For how long? _____
8. Present occupation: _____
If student, please specify field of specialization, and the degree or diploma sought:

9. What is [or was] your father's occupation? _____
10. And your mother's? _____
11. Did your father and mother get university education and degrees? [State if only father, or both mother and father went to university] _____

12. If not, did your father: [Check one]
[] go to university but not finish
[] complete high school
[] not complete high school

13. Up to what level of formal education did your mother go?
[State one of the above alternatives] _____

14. Are you the only child in the family? _____

If not, what is your number in the order from oldest to
youngest? _____

15. Do you plan to go back to Pakistan? _____

PART I - DIRECTIONS

Now you will be presented with a list of statements that have been made on the subject of what should be the goals of Pakistan's foreign policy. You may find some of them agreeable, some not. Please put a check in the appropriate box, according to whether you think it should be a goal of Pakistan's foreign policy, should not be a goal, or you don't know if it should or should not be a goal of Pakistan's foreign policy.

For example, if you feel that a certain item should not be a goal of Pakistan's foreign policy, put a check in the middle box like this:

Don't know
Should not be a goal
Should be a goal

[] [X] []

If, on the other hand, you think that it should be a goal of Pakistan's foreign policy, put a check in the first box, and so on in accordance with what you feel.

	Don't know	Should <u>not</u> be a goal	Should be a goal
1. Participating in education development programs all over the world.	[]	[]	[]
2. Abiding by Shariah and Sunnah in our dealings with other nations.	[]	[]	[]
3. Participating in worldwide cultural development programs.	[]	[]	[]
4. Putting the interests of our nation first in all international negotiations.	[]	[]	[]
5. Going out of our way to participate in all programs of improving the conditions of the world.	[]	[]	[]
6. Trying to make Pakistan the leader of the Moslem world.	[]	[]	[]
7. Avoiding hasty intemperate acts toward other nations.	[]	[]	[]
8. Considering ourselves as Pakistanis first and Moslems second.	[]	[]	[]
9. Not letting other nations goad us into war.	[]	[]	[]
10. Praying for Allah's guidance in our international policies.	[]	[]	[]
11. Taking care of our own problems, without depending on others.	[]	[]	[]
12. Striving to achieve a position of power in the international community.	[]	[]	[]
13. Helping India by sending food supplies to famine-stricken areas therein.	[]	[]	[]
14. Doing what we know is right, even if others object.	[]	[]	[]

	Should be a goal	Should <u>not</u> be a goal	Don't know
15. Staying neutral in fights between other nations.	[]	[]	[]
16. Being helpful to nations even if they are against us.	[]	[]	[]
17. Enhancing friendly relations with all Moslem countries irrespective of conflicting social and political aims.	[]	[]	[]
18. Trying to concentrate on cultural development rather than worrying about security measures for national defense.	[]	[]	[]
19. Showing our devotion to religious principles in the conduct of foreign affairs.	[]	[]	[]
20. Going out of our way to participate in all programs of improving the conditions of the world.	[]	[]	[]
21. Trying to get other nations to like us.	[]	[]	[]
22. Trying to get other nations to imitate our way of life.	[]	[]	[]
23. Opening conferences with other nations with a prayer for their successful outcome.	[]	[]	[]
24. Doing all we can to build up the international prestige of Pakistan.	[]	[]	[]
25. Being helpful to all countries who are friendly with us.	[]	[]	[]
26. Working to advance our national interests in world affairs.	[]	[]	[]

	Should be a goal	Should <u>not</u> be a goal	Don't know
27. Adopting a policy of peaceful co-existence toward all nations.	[]	[]	[]
28. Putting our emphasis on basic research, to increase man's understanding of the universe.	[]	[]	[]
29. Developing our leadership potential, so that other nations will want to follow us.	[]	[]	[]
30. Trying to be friendly toward all countries, even if we don't like their policies.	[]	[]	[]
31. Teaching all nations to believe in the sovereignty of God.	[]	[]	[]
32. Supporting complete disarmament of all nations including our own.	[]	[]	[]
33. Trying to make Pakistan the leader of Afro-Asian countries.	[]	[]	[]
34. Consider ourselves as Pakistanis first and internationalists second.	[]	[]	[]
35. Never going to war with any nation.	[]	[]	[]
36. Seeking in the Quran for the direction of our foreign policies.	[]	[]	[]
37. Being as friendly toward our enemies as we are toward our allies.	[]	[]	[]
38. Not being bullied by super powers in our relations with other nations.	[]	[]	[]
39. Always putting religious interests ahead of all social, economic and political needs, and formulate foreign policies accordingly.	[]	[]	[]
40. Trying to help nations with worse social and economic conditions.	[]	[]	[]

PART IV*- DIRECTIONS

Please read over the following statements, and for each one indicate (by a check in the appropriate box) whether it is something you always admire in other people, or something you always dislike, or something about which you don't know if you admire it or not in other people.

*The item which was dropped from this part as a result of having elicited uniform responses from the respondents, as pointed out in Chapter I, is not included here. The item, originally numbered 36, pertained to Social Skills and read: "Being able to get people to co-operate with you".

	Always Admire	Always Dislike	Don't know
1. Having a strong intellectual curiosity.	[]	[]	[]
2. Being able to get along with all kinds of people.	[]	[]	[]
3. Defending the honor of one's house whenever it is unfairly criticized.	[]	[]	[]
4. Being devout in one's religious faith.	[]	[]	[]
5. Always being patient with people.	[]	[]	[]
6. Conforming to the requirements of any situation and doing what is expected of one.	[]	[]	[]
7. Working and living in harmony with other people.	[]	[]	[]
8. Always offering prayers regularly and faithfully.	[]	[]	[]
9. Never losing one's temper, no matter what the reason.	[]	[]	[]
10. Helping organize group activities.	[]	[]	[]
11. Being outspoken and frank in expressing one's likes and dislikes.	[]	[]	[]
12. Developing an appreciation of the fine arts--music, drama, literature, and ballet.	[]	[]	[]
13. Being poised, gracious, and charming under all circumstances.	[]	[]	[]
14. Having the ability to lead others.	[]	[]	[]
15. Practising self control.	[]	[]	[]
16. Being the person in the house who is the most popular with the opposite sex.	[]	[]	[]

	Don't know	Always Dislike	Always Admire
17. Thinking and acting freely, without social restraints, and encouraging others to do likewise.	[]	[]	[]
18. Being kind to people, even if they do things contrary to one's beliefs.	[]	[]	[]
19. Being well mannered and behaving properly in social situations.	[]	[]	[]
20. Treating an attack on one's group like an attack on oneself.	[]	[]	[]
21. Being in a position to direct and influence others' lives.	[]	[]	[]
22. Always living one's religion in one's life.	[]	[]	[]
23. Concealing most of one's dislikes or disagreements with fellow members of the organization.	[]	[]	[]
24. Turning the other cheek, and forgiving others when they harm you.	[]	[]	[]
25. Doing all one can to build up the prestige of the organization.	[]	[]	[]
26. Showing great leadership qualities.	[]	[]	[]
27. Encouraging others to offer prayers regularly and lead religious lives.	[]	[]	[]
28. Replying to anger with gentleness.	[]	[]	[]
29. Being independent, original, nonconformist, different from other people.	[]	[]	[]
30. Having a keen interest in international, national, and local affairs.	[]	[]	[]

	Always Admire	Always Dislike	Don't know
31. Helping another person feel more secure, even if you don't like him.	[]	[]	[]
32. Dressing and acting in a way that is appropriate to the occasion.	[]	[]	[]
33. Being an intellectual.	[]	[]	[]
34. Helping another achieve his own goals, even if it might interfere with your own.	[]	[]	[]
35. Working hard to improve the prestige and status of one's group.	[]	[]	[]
36. Avoiding the physical pleasures that are prohibited in the Quran.	[]	[]	[]
37. Having an active interest in all things scholarly.	[]	[]	[]
38. Gaining recognition for one's achievements.	[]	[]	[]
39. Not expressing anger, even when you have a reason for doing so.	[]	[]	[]

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